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BATEYE GUARERO

Identity-management, resources and agency in an inactive Dominican sugar bateye

Kjersti Olsaker

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Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen

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"Competent Authorities: don't make yourselves blind to our hardships, or deaf to our cries. Because then you might be opening the door to a battlefield."[1]

[1] From the protest sign made by the Farmers Union, see picture 4 on page 84.

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Chapter 1

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INTRODUCTION

The Dominican sugar bateye: social stigma and low socioeconomic status

This thesis is about a sugar *bateye* situated in the inland province of Monte Plata in the Dominican Republic. A *bateye*[2] is an agricultural community in the midst of the sugarcane fields where living quarters for the workers were set up by the Sugarcane companies. The bateye in this thesis, Bateye Guarero[3], came into existence in the beginning of the 1950ies to produce sugarcane for the new sugarcane mill, Río Haina, that the dictator Trujillo had constructed in 1951 (Cuevas 1999:159).

In order to produce this sugarcane, *braceros* (cane-cutters) were contracted in large numbers to live and work in Bateye Guarero and the neighboring bateye communities. The work received low pay, and mostly attracted foreign migrant workers. It has been estimated that by the mid 1980ies, 90 percent of the *braceros* on Dominican sugarcane plantations where Haitian nationals or children of Haitian immigrants born in the Dominican Republic (Martínez 1995:6). Bateye Guarero, however, lies in close proximity to Dominican villages, which likely led to a higher number of residents and sugarcane workers that were poor rural Dominicans than was common in other bateyes.

After the dictator Trujillo was assassinated in 1961, his sugar estates became the property of the Dominican state. The sugarcane production and social organization of the *bateye* was controlled by the state organ CEA (The Dominican state sugar consortium, Consejo Estatal del Azúcar) until its financial collapse in 1999 (Cuevas 1999:217). The

[2] Bateye communities will henceforth be referred to as bateye; to refer to several bateye communities or the bateye communities in general, the Spanish plural form will be used: bateyes.
[3]The name is a Pseudonym; reasons for this are explained during the methodological discussion in this chapter.

CEA then leased its property and sugarcane mills to private sugarcane companies. Only some of these companies successfully stayed in business; the company that took over production in Bateye Guarero quickly went bankrupt. Sugarcane production came to a complete halt in Bateye Guarero and the community is now referred to as one of many *bateyes inactivos*[4] (inactive bateyes).

Even though the Dominican sugarcane industry depends on cheap Haitian labor, Haitian immigrants have met resentment and racial and social prejudices in the Dominican Republic. Many scholars argue that the Dominican national identity was created in contrast to their neighboring country Haiti and the Haitian people (Krohn-Hansen 2001, Howard 2001, Sagás 2000). This national identity emphasizes that Dominican identity is a Catholic, white and Hispanic one. Haitians are identified with the opposite characteristics as African, black and voodoo religious practitioners (Krohn-Hansen 2001:104). Anti-Haitian sentiments have formed through the political history of the Dominican Republic, but were formalized as a state discourse, *antihaitianismo*, during the dictatorship of Trujillo. The historical and political background of *antihaitianismo* is explored in chapter 2.

Antihaitianismo entails certain perceived characteristics of Haitians that are closely linked to the fear of the presence of the Haitian "enemy" to the integrity of the Dominican nation and its people (Sagás 2000:45). Haitian immigrants and their descendants in the Dominican Republic are stigmatized as African (black), poor, illiterate, dirty, ugly and disease-ridden. The discourse of *antihaitianismo* also instills fear that Haitians will contaminate the Dominican "bloodlines" with "African" blood, and that the Hispanic and Catholic national values will thusly be threatened (Howard 2001:36). Bateye Guarero and other bateye communities are intrinsically linked to these anti-Haitian prejudices.

Apart from the clear racist ideas that *antihaitianismo* entails, the characteristics are all linked to poverty and socioeconomic standing. Another expression of anti-Haitian ideas is directly linked to the low standard of living Haitian immigrants endure in the Dominican Republic. It is a commonly expressed idea that Haitians can be no better than

[4] Bateye Guarero is usually just referred to as a *bateye*. For explanatory purposes the inhabitants will define it as an inactive bateye. The same term is used by the organizations that work in the area.

animals when they choose to live in degrading conditions on the sugarcane plantations (Martínez 2007:77). The standard of living in *bateyes* has been likened to slavery by international human rights organizations (Howard 2001:34). Even though this is considered an exaggeration of the situation[5], bateye-dwellers are generally the poorest people in the Dominican Republic. The only extensive research on living conditions in the bateyes was conducted in 1986 and showed that over half of the inhabitants were illiterate and had received no formal education. In addition it revealed malnutrition and poor access to water and electricity (Moya 1986:56-66).

The conditions in the bateye communities have not improved with time, but have only deteriorated since the bankruptcy of CEA (Martínez 2007: xii). The standard of living and the pool of available resources in Bateye Guarero is discussed later in this chapter. The end of sugar production contributed to a growth in socioeconomic differences between the small number of Dominican descendant inhabitants and the Haitian and Dominican-Haitian population in Bateye Guarero. This thesis argues that the presence of a Dominican descendant group in the bateye has been the base upon which collective identification as Dominican in Bateye Guarero has been more successful than in neighboring communities. At the same time, it ensures a disparity in self-identification between the richest and the poorest inhabitants of Bateye Guarero.

Theme and main arguments

The overarching theme of this thesis is relations of power: most specifically the relations of power that shape the processes of social identification. In Dominican sugar bateyes, the power of social identification is closely linked to the *power of efficacy* (Jenkins 2009), which is the ability to achieve ones goals through the mobilization of resources. This thesis presents a context where social categorization by the Dominican state limits access to material and symbolic resources for inhabitants of Bateye Guarero (see chapter

[5] See Martínez 2012 for a discussion about these claims from the human rights organizations and their illegitimacy due to wrongful information about the freedom of movement.

2). This social categorization is embedded in a discourse that creates a social stigma of Haitians and their descendants in the Dominican Republic.

The key analytical concept of *identity-management* is used to illustrate the agency of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero as they participate in a relational and dynamic process of social identification. Their social identification is defined through the negotiation between national and local forces/agents (see Lamont & Molnar 2002:181 on national identity). Identity-management is used to refer to the actions and ideas of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero as they participate in this negotiation.

The main argument in this thesis is that identity-management in Bateye Guarero is shaped by how resources can be mobilized in the pursuit of perceived upward social mobility. This thesis argues that the relatively high level of resources available for mobilization by the Dominican descendant group in Bateye Guarero is the main influence on identity-management in the bateye community, and has formed the identity-management in the shape of "Dominicanization" (see chapters 3 and 4). A further argument is that the likelihood of surpassing the social stigma attached to bateye residents grows when more resources can be mobilized to achieve this goal. The material and symbolic resources can be used to overcome the social stigma, if used to "Dominicanize" through practices, consumption choices and interests (see chapters 3 and 4).

A secondary argument is that variations in access to resources find its expression in alternative identity-management. Poorer access to resources that can be mobilized to "Dominicanize" pushes identity-management through the mobilization of different resources, such as those found within the Pentecostal movement or with the "rights discourse" of non-profit organizations (see chapter 5). Members of the Pentecostal movement can combat the social stigma through elevation of religious values over Dominican nationalist values. Inhabitants of the neighboring bateye community, Bateye Alto, can combat the social stigma through the discourse of human rights and appeal to the international human rights society for heightened symbolic capital. It is argued, however, that the identity-management most common in Bateye Guarero, of "Dominicanizing", is the identity-management with the most powerful efficacy (see Conclusions for reflections on this argument in light of recent political events).

Entrance to the field and the clash with prior expectations

It was my plan, initially, to conduct my fieldwork in an active bateye that produced sugarcane. Active bateyes have seasonal workers and a constant flux of work migrants from Haiti. My research questions about Haitian identity in the Dominican Republic would perhaps have seemed more to the point had I lived among people who predominantly were born in Haiti. Circumstances would however have it differently. Previous to my arrival in the Dominican Republic I had contacted the organization Mosctha[6], the socio-cultural movement for Haitian workers. They generously offered their help and guidance both to choose a community and to introduce me to key persons that I could trust. During my first meeting with Mosctha in Santo Domingo I explained to them the intended focus of my research. I wished to study the effects of the stigma of *antihaitianismo* and human agency: local actions and initiatives that dealt with the discrimination I had read that the people in bateyes were subject to. They in turn informed me that of the bateyes they worked with, it was the ones in Monte Plata that had poorest access to identity-papers. In addition, they had successful micro-finance projects there and they were building a bakery. It was agreed that Monte Plata would be the best region for me.

A few days later, Mosctha brought me to Bateye Guarero and neighboring communities and introduced me to their key contacts there. I took a fancy to the community of Bateye Guarero over the other ones because there appeared to be more public social interaction there. More organizations worked in Bateye Guarero and organized gatherings that did not occur in the other bateye communities, such as baking classes and community meetings. As we visited during the day, the community seemed livelier than the others because all the school children from neighboring bateyes gathered in Bateye Guarero. Organizations were in the process of building both a bakery and a library there as well. Because more resources appeared to be available in Bateye Guarero I decided it would make the best field site to study agency and social change.

[6] Movimiento socio-cultural de los trabajadores Haitianos.

It was not until much later that I realized that Mosctha had intended for me to stay in Bateye Alto: the neighboring community. The differences between the two communities are discussed briefly in chapter 5. I am certain that this thesis would look rather different had I focused on Bateye Alto. Perhaps it would have dealt more with the themes I originally intended to focus on concerning Haitian nationals in the Dominican Republic. Bateye Guarero is a community very much in transit, in the sense that it stands out from the other bateye communities in the area because of its higher access to resources. Is Bateye Guarero becoming a Dominican campo, or will it continue to be stigmatized by its past as a Haitian influenced sugarcane bateye? This question is difficult to answer about Bateye Guarero, but would not need to be asked about the neighboring bateyes where many inhabitants live without official identity papers and are more cut off from Dominican society.

The community of Bateye Guarero was quite different from my initial expectations, and the people in Bateye Guarero never ceased to challenge my perceptions and views. I expected to do fieldwork in an active bateye, or at least a bateye more influenced by its past and high number of Haitian residents. Bateye Guarero, therefore, surprised me. Where I had expected to find "Haitian" people and practices, I found a community preoccupied with all things "Dominican". Bateye Guarero introduced me to a reality perhaps more marginal than what I would find in active bateyes. The community was the perfect place to study the complex interplay between ethnic self-identification and state classification and its clear ties to what in the broadest sense can be seen as class stratification[7]. I choose to analyze the stratification of people based on their socioeconomic position through a focus on management and mobilization of resources and the power of efficacy instead of referring to class. I believe this analytical approach brings out the nuanced picture of how the specific ethnic markers and social stigma are part of a negotiation through use of symbolic and material resources.

[7] I do not use class as an analytical tool in this thesis for several reasons. Primarily it is because all of the people in this thesis would normally be considered as part of the same social class (Howard 2001:71). Class as an analytical term therefore does not help me analyze the impact of the diverse access to resources within the bateye and between neighboring bateyes.

The field site: Bateye Guarero

The line of argumentation in this thesis requires a thorough presentation of the resource level in Bateye Guarero. The physical and financial resources will be described in this section. Bateye Guarero is the focal point for state resources in the area of agricultural bateyes. It is home to the local state elementary school grades 1-8 which children from the neighboring bateyes attend, a state health clinic with a nurse present daily[8], and will soon sport the only bakery at a large distance, and one of few libraries (the latter two not state funded).

Only a handful of people in Bateye Guarero are employed in wage-work. The local wage-earning jobs pay around 4000-5000 RD monthly[9]. The handful who occupy these positions have a huge advantage in bateye life as there are few cash expenses and this money can be saved for larger purchases or investments. A pig can be bought for 500 RD and a motorcycle for about 30 000. The shortage of available wage-work is causing a depopulation of the community as the young leave to seek wage-work other places (depopulation is explored in chapter 3). Following from this, however, is that all families in Bateye Guarero have some level of financial aid from members living and working outside of the community. I was unable to review the extent of this financial aid, but for most families, this is the main source of cash income.

Most people in Bateye Guarero support themselves through subsistence farming. The plots of land the farmers actually own are too small to produce surplus food and a cash income. During the sugarcane production, unused land was often informally ceded to those residents with the closest ties to CEA (Dominican state sugar consortium) administrators and with the best financial ability to participate in petty corruption (Martínez 2007:66). This informal ceding of property has created an "elite" group from Bateye Guarero that has joined forces with farmers from other communities to cultivate large plots of CEA land for a generous surplus. These farmers are currently involved in court proceedings against individuals who claim to have bought the land (see chapter 4

[8] The Clinic is perpetually low on medicine and is rarely visited. Even so, it is the only health clinic in any of the bateye communities, and it is often envied in the neighboring community Bateye Alto.
[9] The relatives of Bateye Guarero inhabitants who work in the capital informed me of earning about the double as unskilled and sometimes unofficial workers.

on the Farmers Union). The cash-crop farmers often produce cacao or large amounts of rice. The subsistence farmers generally produce yucca, different types of banana, rice and beans. This, therefore, constitutes the basic diet in Bateye Guarero. The diet is high in carbohydrates and relatively low in protein, causing health-challenges with obesity and high cholesterol.

As the vast majority of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero are unemployed, they are also receivers of social security from the Dominican state. Due to poor organization[10], only about half of the inhabitants receive government social service. From the *Tarjeta Soledaridad* (name of the welfare program) the families receive 825 RD monthly with which they can buy food, but not other household appliances such as soap (certain stores take the card). Families also receive 150 RD monthly per child in elementary school during the school calendar months (maximum of 4 children)[11]. For households with members over the age of 65, another 400 RD monthly is given. Every household also receives 228 RD monthly for liquefied petroleum gas for the gas-run cooking tops. This financial aid can not be turned into cash, but is used at the stores in neighboring Dominican villages (not bateyes).

Every day expenses are not very high in Bateye Guarero. People generally do not pay rent, but the ones who do pay between 200 to 1000 RD monthly. The largest expense is snacks and drinks outside of mealtimes and other consumer goods. How much each family has to spend varies a great deal, as can be seen in chapter 3. The relatively rich families are the ones that own the local food stores, the *colmados*, the local bar or the local lottery stand. Other high income families are those whose members are employed as cleaners at the local school or who holds the few wage-earning jobs. The majority of the richer families are also involved with the cash-crop farming of the CEA land as described above. These few families are of Dominican descent. The majority of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero, however, have few resources and half do not even receive the benefits of

[10] The key local contact person for the governmental aid program, usually referred to as "la promotora" informed me that the social security was only given to the families who had been present during the visit of the government official. The officials would, however be returning soon and more people would be accepted for the social security.

[11] http://www.adess.gov.do/v2/P_SoloTexto.aspx?EntId=241

the *Tarjeta Soledaridad*. This is reflected in the standard of living in Bateye Guarero and the presence of non-profit organizations.

The residents of Bateye Guarero make the best of the resources available to them. Even so, the standard of living is not high. Most houses are deteriorating and families are cramped in small spaces. Siblings of the same sex share rooms and beds, and the majority of nuclear families live in one or two room houses. Theses houses are either built using concrete and get very hot during the summer, or they are poorly crafted wooden houses that get cold during the winter. All the roofs are made of corrugated iron, usually re-used, which leads to leakages and high noise levels during rain season. It is common to have gas-cookers, but many people are unable to pay for the gas. Therefore it is equally common to cook over open fire, either in a shed separate from the house or on the patio.

Almost all the houses are connected to electricity, which comes and goes at what appears to be pre-arranged times. The electricity usually works in the morning from between 6-9 am and in the evening from between 8-11 pm. Sometimes there are more hours of electricity. An automatic water pump was installed in 2012 by the organization Servicio Social de Iglesias Dominicanas (henceforth SSID). Several communal water taps have been put up around the community, and they pump water automatically when the electricity works. When the automatic pump does not work, all the women stand hours in line everyday by the manual pump, as was the custom before the automatic pump was installed. Drinking water is usually bought, but can successfully be boiled clean. Another factor to the standard of living is the poorly maintained dirt road leading to the community which ensures that there is no public transportation. The lack of a pick-up service for trash has led people to simply drop the trash all over the community, leaving the trash flooding.

Bateye Guarero receives attention from seven different non-profit organizations. For reasons of anonymity I will only name the larger organizations that work in many bateyes. The organizations that operate on a small enough scale to compromise the anonymity of the bateye will not be named, and instead referred to in terms of their efforts. Three organizations are present regularly, whereas the rest have annual or less frequent interaction with the community. The first of the three main organizations is Mosctha, the socio-cultural movement for Haitian workers. They are building a bakery

and providing the women in the community with baking and jewelry-making classes (see chapter 3). They have given out several micro-finance loans to the women in Bateye Guarero. Mosctha also provides a monthly mobile health clinic for women's health, specifically family planning and pregnancy check-ups. Mosctha deserves special recognition as they have worked with the community since before the sugarcane production ended and still provide the largest bulk of necessary services in the community. Mosctha also works in Bateye Alto, where the organization deals predominantly with the issue of rights to legal citizenship. This legal help is also provided to the handful of people in Bateye Guarero who lack official identification. The discourse of human rights that Mosctha introduced to the bateyes can be seen to affect the Farmers Union presented in chapter 4 (see chapter 3 for a discussion on the lasting impact of the presence of organizations in Bateye Guarero).

The second main organization is present in the shape of a volunteer who lives in the community. This international volunteer holds classes for youth which focus on anything from reading skills to self-esteem building. The same international organization, The U.S Peace Corps sends long-term volunteers to neighboring communities. Like Mosctha, these volunteers present to the youth a discourse about being proud to be who you are, which most often in the bateye communities means black and of Haitian descent, and to struggle for human rights. The third main organization is a Dominican organization that focuses on animal farming. The idea is to breed animals and grow vegetables to sell at below market price to bateye communities.

One of the other 4 organizations is SSID (mentioned above), which is now more active in neighboring community Bateye Alto. This organization has earlier provided Bateye Guarero with latrines and water supply. The other 4 organizations come in groups either annually or less frequently to hand out emergency relief such as vitamins or to do volunteer work for a shorter period of time. This work usually consists of building or repairing churches, painting houses etc. This thesis will not address the organizations in detail, but merely present them as a part of a base of available resources in Bateye Guarero (this is briefly discussed in chapter 3).

Why classical anthropological fieldwork was the only way

My fieldwork was a traditional anthropological fieldwork. I lived in the bateye and participated in all the activities of everyday life. The empirical information in this thesis is largely based on participant observation and unstructured interviews. Samuel Martínez is an anthropologist whose work is central to this thesis because he is one of the few in our discipline to have written about Dominican bateyes. He believes the main focus of anthropology should still be on people who are "pushed out of sight and hearing by the corporate media" (Martínez 2007: ix). In this era of economic globalization, Martínez argues that "broad-ranging, community-based, empirical field study" should gain expanded importance as it is the only way to study the impacts of global economy on economically depressed communities.

I share with Martínez his passion to study the underprivileged whose life practices remain virtually undocumented in both media and academic works. Likewise, I also support his view that community-based empirical field study should be an integral part of research on poverty-stricken areas and how people act in situations with few available resources. Former Dominican sugarcane bateyes are an example of such poverty-stricken areas in need of empirical study. To my knowledge, the former Dominican sugarcane bateyes that were left inactive by the end of the 1990ies have not been the focus of any anthropological study. The need for long term anthropological fieldwork in these areas is clear. It is my view that anything other than classical anthropological fieldwork within one bateye community would have been impractical and produced less representative data of the everyday life of a bateye-dweller. As there exists no academic work on inactive bateyes to supplement my own research, I found that it was essential for my understanding of bateye life to be present both day and night to participate in all ongoing activities.

Certain fieldwork contexts do of course require that the anthropologist live in a separate place from her informants, such as Passaro's fieldwork among the homeless of New York. Passaro is right to question assumptions that would deem "better" the knowledge that was secured at personal risk to the anthropologist (1997:147). Before I embarked on my fieldwork experience it remained unclear whether or not I would co-

reside with my informants. I did not know if living in a bateye would be safe for me and I did not desire to take up space in a crowded bateye dwelling or add insult to injury by voluntarily putting myself in a situation they might perceive of as highly undesirable. As noted earlier, my ideas about the field before arrival did not correspond to the reality I met, and it was in fact perfectly safe and socially acceptable for me to co-reside with my informants. Failing to take the opportunity to live among my informants and instead opt for the comforts of the close by town would have had devastating impact upon my ability to collect data.

Classical anthropological fieldwork was the only way to collect the data presented in this thesis. Lack of public transportation to Bateye Guarero would have ensured that an anthropologist residing in the nearest village would have had to leave the community before nightfall to get a ride with a motorcycle-taxi. Leaving the field at six pm every night might pose few obstacles for data-collection if your informants likewise leave the social setting with you, as Kurotani notes (2004). With Bateye Guarero as a field site, however, much important community social life takes place after dark, most notably the Pentecostal church meetings, social dancing and friendly games on the street-corners.

Taking a motorcycle-taxi to my field site everyday would also be expensive and would have been considered a mark of distinction between myself and the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero. Had I distinguished myself from the first instance as a wealthy person who lived in the Dominican town[12], I might not have gained the trust necessary to collect empirical data on processes of identification and the levels of both social and financial resources of the different families. The inhabitants of Bateye Guarero present themselves quite differently when they are encountered outside of their community and the context of their everyday life. This different self-presentation is persistent, and it took several months to fully gain the trust necessary for people to stop altering or monitoring their behavior around me. People began to make jokes, banter with by-passers during our conversations and reply to calls from their elderly Haitian relatives in Haitian Creole instead of Spanish.

[12] People in Bateye Guarero were of course aware that I had more money than them, but were nevertheless used to volunteers from the Peace Corps who while staying in the community had only marginally more money than themselves.

Through living with the people, in much the same living conditions, and showing respect for their everyday lives by participating in their activities, I gained their trust. This trust encouraged the people in Bateye Guarero to share the harshness of their living conditions with me and to speak to me about their views on social stigma and poverty. Many aspects of trust was given to me immediately upon my decision to reside in Bateye Guarero, others were earned. From the first time I sat foot in Bateye Guarero, I was mentally coupled with the international volunteer who lived there. The volunteer told me that several children had come running to his house and happily exclaimed "another "American" is here", and dragged him to come meet me. Even months later, after many attempts to inform people of my research, someone would still say "Oh, are you John's sister?", or "When are you starting your classes like John?" Being put in the box of white international volunteer was both a limitation and a help.

As the people in Bateye Guarero are quite used to international and national aid, they were very welcoming and not at all hesitant to help me. I was invited to everyone's homes and felt that I could approach anyone at any time. I was welcomed to the meetings of the women's group and the Farmers Union, and quickly felt comfortable with the people in Bateye Guarero. This, of course, did not mean that they felt comfortable with me. As they expected me to provide some sort of service, many were inclined to speak to me about the needs of the community. I do believe that it took quite some time for people to present themselves as they were, with the interests they had, because they were afraid of what I might do with that knowledge.

After people became accustomed to the idea that I actually wanted to live among them and understand the elements of their everyday lives, they were no longer afraid that I might tell organizations not to help them, or inform the government of corruption and illegal activity. They certainly did not stop presenting themselves in a favorable light, but nevertheless allowed me to participate in conversations about everything and nothing. With this trust, I was allowed to understand the proper ways of acting and speaking. I stopped pestering people about the relation to all things "Haitian", and I learned the codes of behavior. I learned which questions the people in Bateye Guarero deemed relevant, and as my language skills improved, I found that people did not seem too bothered about my presence.

One last aspect of my persona in the bateye should be noted. During the first month, I resided with one of the local families and was considered a teenager. It was difficult for me to spend time with the adults in Bateye Guarero because the teens continuously followed me around, in all likelihood because they had been told to make me feel welcome. An essential part of my persona in the bateye therefore changed drastically when my partner came to live with me a month into my fieldwork, and we got our own house. I was after that considered a married woman, and an adult, which allowed me to foster social relationships primarily with the adults in the bateye.

Ethical concerns

As noted above, people in Bateye Guarero came to trust me. The process of earning that trust presented me with many of the ethical concerns of my fieldwork. I convinced people that they could trust me, and so they told me things they usually did not talk about and they opened up their everyday lives to me. Hopkins brings up the specific difficulty of obtaining a valid "informed consent" for anthropological analysis from informants who are nonliterate, and asks "can we really convey to a nonliterate community what an ethnography of them will be like?" (Hopkins 1996:128). I do not believe that the people in Bateye Guarero could understand what the textual outcome of my being there would be. I did, of course, constantly remind them that I was going to write about them: what they do and what they say, and that they could always tell me not to write things. It helped, I think, that I pestered people with my questions in the beginning of my fieldwork experience. Soon enough, it became evident to them that I wanted to write about their lives, and that no theme was really of-topic. Although the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero could not perhaps envisage exactly what an anthropological thesis would contain, they nevertheless desired that I write about them even after they knew I had no topic limitations. I did of course come to learn that certain things were talked of less, such as Haitian heritage, corruption and illegal activities. Some of these themes do figure in my thesis, which presents a two-fold ethical dilemma.

First, there is the obvious dilemma of anonymity. The marginal position of my informants has led me to be very careful with the information I gathered. My informants, on the other hand, are quite keen to be seen by the world. Not once did anyone ask me to not write their names or the things they said. Only my closest confidants would say "don't write that", and I have always obliged. Although people in Bateye Guarero did not want to be anonymous, I have decided not to use the real name of the bateye or any of its inhabitants. At times I have also changed the characteristics of people to protect their identity. I have been careful not to let these changes effect the analytical outcome of this thesis. My need to anonymize the people in my study might stem not only from my need to protect their security, but also as a way to be humble about my findings, as I know they do not correspond perfectly with how my informants would present the situations.

The second dilemma that stems from bringing up topics not deemed relevant or appropriate by my informants is the dilemma of presenting other people differently than they would represent themselves. This is made worse by the fact that they are in a marginal position, and the fact that I wish to give voice to their concerns. The disparity between what they wanted me to write, and what I am actually writing is an ethical dilemma. People in Bateye Guarero would have wanted me to write about the poverty in the bateye, the social stigma and the good intentions of the inhabitants in attempting to improve their community. Specifically they would have liked me to write about the importance of better road maintenance, of local job creations and other measures that organizations and the government might be persuaded to accomplish. I am aware that my writing about them was a light of hope for people in Bateye Guarero. They hoped their story would be heard and they hoped more help would come their way. I am uncertain how this thesis might help people in Bateye Guarero, but I do hope that it can contribute to insight about the difficult lives they lead, and a renewed respect, not just for bateye-inhabitants of the Dominican Republic, but for all those people who find ways in a situation of dire poverty.

What the people in Bateye Guarero would like, I suppose, is that I engage in anthropological advocacy. Immediately after my return from fieldwork, a part of me wanted that too. Despite my empathy with their situation, however, I felt uncomfortable with the possibility of making my informants my "clients" through speaking for them or

getting involved with their projects in a leading way. Another major concern would be how truly representative the advocacy could be, as all the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero formulate their own opinion (see Hastrup & Elsass 1990: 304). I was very focused on this problem during the fieldwork, and was careful to write down everything as it happened and as they were said. A big challenge for me was to not get too invested in their struggle to successfully collect objective material. Because I have had to point to aspects of behavior and discourse that I knew my informants would prefer stayed hidden, a major point of reflection for me during the last stages of writing my thesis, has been whether my presentation of these people can be considered objective.

In the case of anthropological analysis I follow D'Andrade's assertion that even though no account can be without bias or self-interest, objectivity can prevail in the literal sense of the term, which he defines as "an account which describes the object, not the describer" (D'Andrade 1995:404). Of course, when the object is abstract, and can perhaps only be found in practical experience, the criterion of objectivity becomes even more difficult. The importance of objectivity in social science for D'Andrade is that findings can be tested by going back to the field. This hardly appears feasible in a social science so dependant on time and place. Really, objective description only allows for future comparison with the material. This thesis is not objective in the sense that my own personal experiences of being in the world have shaped my interests and how I perceived the social situations during my fieldwork. Even so, my ethnographic material has been collected with awareness of disparity between different views and a set focus on detailed description and the actions of my informants as much their words.

Limitations to the thesis

The time restriction of six months fieldwork left me with a difficult choice as to which un-researched bateye community I ought to study and whether I should focus on only one. For reasons outlined above, I decided I wished to contribute to an in-depth understanding of the processes of social identification and resource management in an inactive bateye. This has slightly impaired my ability to fully analyze the relational

dynamics of social identification. I have had to base the analysis of my findings on negotiation and management of social identification on the work of other scholars about the *antihaitianismo* discourse. It is my opinion that more anthropological research in nearby Dominican villages on anti-Haitian sentiments is needed to fully assert the conclusions made in this thesis.

Another result of my in-depth focus on Bateye Guarero is that I lack the material for some very interesting comparative perspectives on differences between the bateyes. The social and economic differences between Bateye Guarero and Bateye Alto, only briefly outlined in this thesis (see chapter 5), deserves more research. It is clear that the social processes in the inactive bateyes have been diverse since sugar production stopped, and that much more research is needed on various inactive bateyes in order to make any kind of generalizations.

The spatial confinement of this thesis has forced me to simply not include various aspects of life in Bateye Guarero that I am certain other scholars would deem equally important in structuring social relations and processes of self-identification. Such aspects include gender relations, ideas about health, ideas about time, and the practices and the extensive influences of the non-profit organizations.

Analytical framework

Certain key analytical concepts are used throughout this thesis, and I therefore find it useful to present these concepts here. This will allow a discussion of how the different concepts are combined for a broad analytical framework, and for implicating how these concepts are helpful for various analytical purposes in the individual chapters.

The key concepts of identity-management, power of efficacy (resources), discourse and power and agency will primarily be discussed individually. This will be followed by a discussion on how these concepts are combined to create the overarching analytical framework of the thesis. The explanation of the thesis outline will indicate how these concepts relate to the analysis and theme of each individual chapter.

Since the processes of social identification are closely connected to access to symbolic and material resources, the main analytical concept in this thesis is identity-management, and I shall therefore start with that concept.

Identity-management:

The analytical framework of this thesis is largely based on the ideas of Richard Jenkins. To explain what social identity is, he speaks of "the internal-external dialectic of identification as the process whereby all identities, individual and collective, are constituted" (Jenkins 1996:20). This indicates that the internal self-identification of an individual or the internal group-identification is generated simultaneously by these internal views and by social categorization from others. In this thesis, the Dominican state is the strongest force of social categorization. Most notably, a current change to the Constitution categorizes Dominican born children of Haitian immigrants as non-citizens (see chapter 2). Ethnic categorization is intimately linked to access to state resources[13].

There is a disparity between how the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero self-identify and how they are categorized by the Dominican state. The categorization as Haitian entails a social stigma deeply connected to a discourse that has shaped Dominican nationalism (see chapter 2). Lamont and Molnar describe the creation of national identity when they state that, "…national identity, like nation building, is defined relationally and emerges from dynamic processes of interaction and negotiation between local and national forces" (Lamont & Molnar 2002:181). Not just national identity, but other forms of social identification is defined relationally by the same processes. That the social identification of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero is shaped through negotiation between local and national "forces" is a central point in this thesis. The "forces", of course, are comprised of individuals. It is the interaction and negotiation between the individual, the state and the society that takes center stage under the topic of identity in

[13] I do not refer to ethnicity in this thesis, but choose instead to speak of processes of social identification. This is because the people in Bateye Guarero do not recognize themselves as part of a distinct ethnic group. To refer to social identification instead of ethnicity helps my analysis of the negotiation and process inherent in this social identification on the basis of perceived ethnic characteristics.

this thesis. To grasp the dynamic and processual, I find it useful to employ the term identity-management to refer to the above outlined process of social identification among my informants.

Identity-management in this thesis means the negotiation and navigation of social actors in a processual and dynamic struggle between national and local forces over the power of social identification. Identity-management is therefore used throughout this thesis in order to see the actions and intentions of the people in Bateye Guarero as embedded within this dynamic process of interaction and negotiation between the individual, the state and the society (Dominican nationals in nearby villages). When the analytical focus leans more towards the individual, I will refer to self-identification or group-identification. When the state is the primary focus, I will refer to categorization. Group-identification entails collective internal definition and a type of relationship between its members, the least of which should be mutual recognition as members of the group. Categorization is an external definition that does not entail a relationship between the members or even recognition of those categorized (Jenkins 1996:86).

The concept of identity-management, and the additional clarification of identification and categorization, is analytically useful because it allows for a focus on the agentive capacities of my informants. I very much agree with Jenkins when he says that "Struggles for a different allocation of resources and resistance to categorization are one and the same thing" (Jenkins 1996:175). Identity-management is consequential for how resources are allocated because a person's identification might influence what and how much that person gets. This brings me to the analytical importance of power and resources in this thesis. As I have a two-fold analytical approach to power, both through the concept of discourse and through the concept of power of efficacy (resources), I will start with the focus on resources because it functions as the main analytical concept in relation to power.

Power of efficacy:

The main analytical use of power in this thesis revolves around access to resources and the ability to mobilize them to achieve goals. Power is in fact a word seldom used, as the thesis speaks directly to resources at stake in different contexts. In my field context I agree with Jenkins that the easiest and most reliable way to study power is through a focus on efficacy, "the resources that people draw upon and mobilize in order to achieve their objectives" (Jenkins 2009:151). It can be noted here, that the objective of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero that this thesis explores is a perceived upward social mobility through higher socioeconomic status.

This view of power is based on notions of human agency, an analytical tool that I turn to below. It is my opinion that studying efficacy of people's agentive capacities in Bateye Guarero is the best way to analyze the access to symbolic and material resources (see chapter 3 and 4). Jenkins states that "Whatever power/efficacy is, resources are required for its exercise. It is in the management and mobilization of resources that efficacy reveals itself" (Jenkins 2009:147). This mobilization and management of resources is intimately connected to the process of identity-management.

It remains the case that large scale politics and the power of the Dominican state influences which resources people can draw on and their ability to mobilize these in order to achieve a perceived upward social mobility in Bateye Guarero. This thesis presents an existing discourse in the Dominican Republic called *antihaitianismo*. I do not hope to study the actual mechanisms of this discourse in Dominican civil society or the many opposing discourses to be found. My intent is to reveal a piece of the context that makes identity-management an essential part of agency and efficacy in relation to resources in Bateye Guarero (see chapter 2)

In my analysis of resources, the word resources is used broadly. In chapters 3 and 4, I use Bourdieu's various forms of capital in order to be more precise about the resources in play. These are symbolic capital, cultural capital, social capital and economic capital (Bourdieu 1991).

Discourse and power:

One discourse with particular influence on social identification in the Dominican Republic is discussed in this thesis, that of *antihaitianismo* (see chapter 2). Why it is analytically helpful to refer to *antihaitianismo* as a discourse instead of an ideology is explored in chapter two. Here, I would like to outline the connection between discourse as a concept and the Foucauldian view of power. Certain modifications of this idea of power will be necessary in order to incorporate the concept of discourse into the over-arching analytical framework of this thesis, specifically in its relation to the concept of agency.

The term discourse is often left undefined in scholarly work and its analytical significance can therefore often be confusing (Mills 1997:1). I use the word discourse as it is described by Foucault. It speaks of the aspect of power which relates to the creation and maintenance of a "truth", or that which is widely accepted as the truth, which again contributes to the maintenance of the formal power holder (Foucault 1994a:210). In this thesis, the formal power holder is the Dominican state.

The concept of discourse in this thesis is used to refer to *antihaitianismo*, which is "an individualizable group of statements" that can be identified as a discourse along the same lines as for instance a discourse of femininity (Mills 1997:6). This thesis deals with the analysis of the impact of a discernible discourse on self-identification in Bateye Guarero. Yet the rules that govern discourse in general are also of concern, in order to analyze the intrinsic power relations that are embedded in such a discourse. Even though the discourse is dominant and does not serve the interest of people who are stigmatized as a result of it, the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero nevertheless internalize certain aspects of it, and negotiate and resist other aspects. Foucault's notion of power is therefore analytically useful.

Power, in the opinion of Foucault is not to be seen in its negative capacity: that is as oppression that keeps people from achieving things. Power is not seen as a possession, but is something that exists only in social relations between people. Foucault states that,

"What defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible and actual future or present actions (Foucault 1994b:137)".

A social actor, then, can not choose to act without reference to the social context, and must act within the discursive frame. The power relations produce subjectivity and behavior, because what is considered to be the truth about behavior and ideas is the result of power struggles (Mills 1997:19). The dominant discourse of *antihaitianismo* must be seen as an arena for negotiation and not only as a stigma. To quote Foucault, "Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault 1978:100-1, taken from Mills 1997:40). Discourse, therefore, is dynamic and relational, and this point of view is helpful to analyze actions of people in Bateye Guarero as both embedded in *antihaitianismo* but also as a resistance to it.

The analytical concept of discourse, as presented by Foucault, does not really incorporate acting subjects, or individuals. Mills outlines how this obstacle for the study of agency has been overcome by feminist scholars who have worked with discursive theory. For feminist writers, discursive theory has allowed a perception of femininity as a discourse to be an arena where women actively work out their subject positions and roles in processual negotiation with the discursive constraints (Mills 1997:77). It is this same process of active negotiation of subject positions, here coined in ethnic terms, which this thesis examines. Agency, therefore, is the last key analytical concept in this thesis.

Agency:

All of the chapters in this thesis make use of the analytical concept of agency. Although not explicitly applied in each case, it forms a fundamental analytical approach. This thesis details what the people in Bateye Guarero actually do when they attempt to mobilize resources. This entails a view on agency. I agree with Ahearn that agency is "the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001:112).

Ortner embellishes the basic definition of agency slightly and says that agency is the mediation between conscious intention and embodied habitus and between conscious motives and unexpected results (Ortner 2001:77). Ortner further argues for the necessity to study the agency of people who are dominated and what they do with limited options. As marginality and domination are important aspects of life in Bateye Guarero, I find Ortner's analytical separation of "agency of power" and "agency of intentions" a useful tool. Agency of power is explained as the forms of power (capacity to influence) people have at their disposal. Agency of intentions is defined as "a variety of culturally constituted desires, purposes and projects that emerge from and of course reproduce different socially constituted positions and subjectivites" (Ortner 2001:79). The forms of agency discussed in this thesis are usually instances of "agency of intentions" that might lead to instances of "agency of power".

The combined analytical approach:

As a clarification, one might say that all of the key analytical concepts in this thesis are linked to the study of power. As previously outlined, the social and political context in the Dominican Republic has aligned socioeconomic position with perceptions about ethnic identity. In order to properly analyze the power relations that structure much of the social life in Bateye Guarero, I needed two analytical concepts of power. First, the concept of discourse allows me to set the historical and political context and its importance for social identification through analyzing the negotiation with the discourse of *antihaitianismo.* Simultaneously, this allows me to properly analyze the importance of social identification for access to both state and social and material resources. Socioeconomic position and social identification must be seen as to sides to the same process for people in Bateye Guarero who seek to achieve their own standards of upward social mobility. Discourse as a concept also helps me explain how *antihaitianismo* is internalized, yet at the same time resisted because the discourse is the very arena in which social subjects are created and developed.

This process of creating and negotiating the social identification happens in interaction between national and local forces. This dynamic process whereby social agents in Bateye Guarero negotiate social identification in relation to the state, the Dominican society and the bateye-dwellers, is what the concept of identity-management is meant to cover. The very point of using identity-management as an analytical tool in this thesis is to focus my analysis on social agents. The ethnographic material presented shows individuals who act, within the sphere of possible actions. It is clear that the people in Bateye Guarero not always manage to accomplish all that they desire. Mostly, it is the Dominican descendant part of the inhabitants who might mobilize resources to accomplish their goals, as an instance of agency of power. The rest of the inhabitants, however, have just as important dreams and goals that deserve attention.

To analyze what is actually accomplished and what is not, and more importantly, why, I turn to Jenkins' concept of the power of efficacy. Agency of power, that is the capacity to influence in the desired way, is what I incorporate into the study of the mobilization and management of resources that Jenkins proposes. Those two concepts intertwine, yet a notion of agency of intentions stands separately to use for analysis of the opposite end of the scale, where resources are not mobilized and managed to achieve intended goals, but where active agents nevertheless produce social results.

Thesis outline

Chapter 1, entitled "Fieldwork, Methodology and Analytical Framework" presents the context of my fieldwork and the resources available in Bateye Guarero. I discuss the importance of classical anthropological fieldwork and its ethical dilemmas and limitations. The last part of the chapter clarifies and explains the analytical framework of the thesis.

Chapter 2, entitled "Dominican state *antihaitianismo* and its effect on identity-management and resources in Bateye Guarero" explains the political and historical context of the discourse *antihaitianismo* and explores the effects of this discourse on

identity-management and access to resources in Bateye Guarero. The analytical concept of discourse is used to analyze both internalizations of *antihaitianismo* and resistance towards it and the various practices people in Bateye Guarero use to negotiate and navigate an expression of self-identification. This chapter also explains how immigration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic is connected to the sugarcane industry. The availability of resources for bateye-dwellers is discussed by exploring the socioeconomic conditions of the sugarcane bateyes during its active years, the subsequent drop in resources and the current struggle over citizenship rights. The analysis of identity-management in Bateye Guarero is presented last in the chapter in order for the entire socioeconomic context to be presented prior to the analysis.

Chapter 3, entitled "Community changes in Bateye Guarero: Consumption and Career choices", discusses the shifts in social organization after CEA shut down production, which led to human rights discourses and a shift from communal values to a more family oriented life. This chapter views consumption as an arena for contesting and reinforcing social inequalities in the bateye and as an expression and negotiation of self-identification as Dominican. The analytical concepts of identity-management and agency are specifically in focus in order to analyze this domain of expression. These concepts are also applied to explain why so many young and middle-aged wish to leave the bateye. The second half of the chapter debates the career choices of the young and middle-aged as they seek wage-work to gain symbolic capital, a choice which forces them to move away from the bateye. The social ramifications of this depopulation in Bateye Guarero are discussed as well as factors that might keep the young from leaving.

Chapter 4, entitled "The Farmers Union: Resources and Symbolic Capital in encounters with the State" depicts a land dispute struggle between farmers in Bateye Guarero, the Dominican state and other actors. To analyze the access to the resources involved in the negotiation over rights to the land, Bourdieu's various forms of capital will be applied as analytical distinctions. It is argued that the amount of social and symbolic capital possessed by the members of the Farmers Union allows for their self-identification as Dominican farmers to be legitimated by the State bureaucracy. Further argumentation

will suggest that it is their lack of cultural capital, in the sense of formal education and knowledge of the legal system, as well as the larger proportion of symbolic capital possessed by the other actors involved in the land dispute that leads to the stagnation of their case. This analysis incorporates Jenkins' concept of "power of efficacy" to analyze the importance of the socioeconomic position of the members of the union, and to compare their ability to mobilize and maintain resources to further their agenda to the ability of other bateye inhabitants to do the same.

Chapter 5, entitled "The correlation between access to resources and the shape of identity-management" explores the argument that identity-management is shaped through which resources are available. This point is illustrated by empirical material from the Pentecostal movement in Bateye Guarero and by empirical material from neighboring Bateye Alto. It is argued that the Pentecostal movement functions as a separate network for poorer bateye inhabitants that can be used to mobilize resources to achieve perceived upward social mobility. The exploration of identity-management in Bateye Alto will discuss how lack of official identity-papers effect the form of identity-management, and it will be argued that the inhabitants of Bateye Alto mostly rely on discourses of human rights to achieve perceived upward social mobility. It will be argued, finally, that identity-management based on economic resources that are mobilized to "Dominicanize", is the most effective to achieve upward social mobility.

"Concluding reflections" is the last section of the thesis, which contains reflections around the main argument of the thesis. The relevance of the Constitutional ruling on citizenship rights for the identity-management in Bateye Guarero will be reflected upon. It will be argued that a potential denationalization of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero would cause identity-management to take more of the shape it does in Bateye Alto, and that the growing differences between the inhabitants of Dominican descent and the population of Haitian descent will be formalized.

Chapter 2

Dominican state *antihaitianismo* and its effect on identity-management in Bateye Guarero

This chapter discusses the discourse *antihaitianismo* which I believe to be the most influential discourse to people's self-identification in Bateye Guarero. *Antihaitianismo* is discussed as a discourse, followed by an explanation of the historical and political elements central to its creation. The formalization of the discourse during the regime of Trujillo, and the connection to current day politics is then briefly discussed. This is followed by a short introduction to the sugarcane history and its connection to Haitian immigration. In the second half of the chapter the living conditions and social organization of the CEA bateyes will be explored and the current changes to citizenship law will be discussed. Finally, this chapter will illustrate and analyze the importance of these historical and political events to the self-identification of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero.

Antihaitianismo as a discourse

In 2000 the political scientist Sagás published an entire book, *Race and Politics in the Dominican Republic* devoted to the concept of *antihaitianismo*. The main point in his book is that *antihaitianismo* was created by the Dominican intellectual and political elite and that it has been used to further the ends of the oligarchy. Sagás describes *antihaitianismo* when he says,

"It can be defined as a set of socially reproduced anti-Haitian prejudices, myths, and stereotypes prevalent in the cultural makeup of the Dominican Republic. These are based on presumed racial,

social, economic, and national-cultural differences between the two peoples; differences stressed by generations of Dominican ideologues" (Sagás 2000:4).

Antihaitianismo has indeed been furthered by the Dominican oligarchy and it has been incorporated in the political agendas of several long-term state leaders, most notably Trujillo and Balaguer. The effects of *antihaitianismo* being used as an official state discourse under the leadership of Trujillo and Balaguer will be discussed in this chapter.

Yet, this thesis also explores how the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero negotiate, adapt to and resist the social stigma that stems from *antihaitianismo*. Although Sagás refers to *antihaitianismo* as an ideology, this thesis will describe it as a discourse. This is due to my support of the view that ideology presents an overly "top-down" view of the power process involved in creating known "truths" (Miller 1997:34). Miller presents this distinction between ideology and discourse largely based on Foucault's notions of power, which stresses the presence of power also outside of the state or the oligarchy[14]. I find it useful therefore to discuss *antihaitianismo* as a discourse because it brings to the forefront two elements of analytical importance to this thesis.

First, it helps this thesis point to the necessary existence of several discourses on the topic of Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic because "Discourses do not exist in a vacuum but are in constant conflict with other discourses and other social practices which inform them over questions of truth and authority (Miller 1997:17)". Second, as a discourse, *antihaitianismo* can be explained as both a part of subject making and a result of those subjects' participation in the maintenance or resistance of the discourse (Miller 1997:18). Viewing *antihaitianismo* as a discourse is analytically helpful because it allows for a broader perspective on power, which includes the actions and ideas of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero in the process of the creation of a discourse and its development.

[14] See chapter 1 for a short description of Foucault's notion of power and how this is related to the concept of agency in this thesis.

The historical and political formation of *antihaitianismo*

Krohn-Hansen (2001) urges for an understanding of the political life of nation states to be viewed as examples of cosmologies. He claims that the creation of nation states supposes persistent categorization and the creation and recreation of boundaries between these categories (Krohn-Hansen 2001:129-130). In the political history of the Dominican Republic, these categories have been forged through differentiation between the nation state and its neighboring country, Haiti, and between the inhabitants of the two countries. This differentiation has been brought about through the discourse of *antihaitianismo*.

Sagás explains that anti-Haitian ideas formed throughout the political history of the Dominican Republic, and culminated in the formalized state discourse under the dictatorship of Trujillo between 1930 and 1961. The politico-historical events of the Dominican Republic and Haiti became essential rhetoric building blocks in Trujillo's *antihaitianismo* nationalist campaign, and must therefore be reviewed shortly before an exploration of Trujillo's *antihaitianismo* propaganda.

A certain amount of political problems between Haiti and the Dominican Republic have existed ever since Spain ceded a part of its colony to France in 1795. Even before the French colony of Saint Dominigue was made official, there were raids and assaults by both French and British colonialists on Hispaniola for over 40 years (Cuevas 1999:3). The French colony on the island soon came to be one of the richest, whereas the Spanish one on the same island languished (Sagás 2000:24). Due to Spain's discovery of mainland Latin America and the vast mineral resources there, the colony of Santo Domingo (now Dominican Republic) became unpopular and lost its financial footing (Black 1986:17). The colonists could no longer afford to import African slaves and the sugarcane plantation system died. The lack of white women in the colony led to higher levels of miscegenation and the lack of white men allowed some mulattos to get high standing administrative positions.

These financial and social differences between the French and the Spanish colony on Hispaniola led to growing prejudices against both the French and the growing number of African slaves in the French colony; a prejudice even extended among the slaves in the

Spanish colony who claimed superior status for being born on Santo Domingo soil (Sagás 2000:25).

The Spanish aristocracy in Santo Domingo became fearful when the French colony declared independence as Haiti in 1802, after the first and only slave revolt to result in a declaration of independence. The Haitian revolution was seen by the Dominican elite as barbaric, and only served to reinforce Hispanic nationalism. The Haitian military forces under leadership of Dessalines sought control over the Spanish colony as a means to control the survival of their nation against attacks from the French. In 1809 the Spanish colonialists rebelled and won the colony back for Spain. Due to starvation, bad economy and reintroduced slavery the colonists again changed their minds and drove the Spanish governor out. The Haitian President Boyer met no military resistance when he in 1822 declared the island one country under Haiti (Black 1986:18-19).

The resulting 22 years under Haitian rule was a main focus point in the nationalist rhetoric of Trujillo. It does however, remain a controversy whether the Dominican population desired this incorporation in the Haitian state. Martínez emphasizes that,

> "It is almost never mentioned that, for nearly twenty years of their 22-year reign, the Haitian "occupiers" held power not with their own troops but solely with regiments recruited among the Spanish-speaking black, mulatto and white men of the eastern part of the island" (Martínez 2003:8).

An addition to Martínez' argument is Bissainthe's reviews of official letters exchanged between political figures in the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo and the Haitian President Boyer, clearly in favor of incorporation in the Haitian state (Bissainthe 2002:38). Undoubtedly there was a rift in the population of Santo Domingo as to the desire to be a part of Haiti. The elites, the church and the landowning families in Santo Domingo were deprived of their properties and the trade and shipping industry suffered financially during this period.

Unlike most other former Spanish colonies, the Dominican Republic celebrates its independence not from Spain, but from Haiti. The three liberation heroes and founding

fathers are Duarte, Sánchez, and Mella. They managed to seize the fortress in Santo Domingo from the Haitian power, on February 27th, and the date is celebrated as the national day of the Dominican Republic. Even after the declaration of independence there was political will to re-annex the colony to Spain and the founding fathers were overthrown by Santana when the country once again became a Spanish colony. After only four years, the Spanish reign was fought off the island once again and the Dominican Republic has been a republic since (Black 1986:19-20).

Haiti attempted several times over the next years to regain political control of the entire island and did not cease their attacks until 1855; this period of time is referred to as the Dominican-Haitian wars (Krohn-Hansen 2001:82). Sagás explains that the literary romanticism of the taíno indigenous began in this time period, and has resulted in the popular Dominican belief that Dominican descent is a mixture of Spanish and Indigenous, hence the common ethnic label of *Indio* (indigenous). Sagás says,

"Even though the Amerindian population on Hispaniola was exterminated in less than a century, the pro-Hispanic Dominican elites portrayed the Dominican people as the descendants of the brave Indians and the Spanish colonists, deliberately obviating the black element in Dominican society" (Sagás 2000:35).

This negation of black identity in the Dominican Republic became essential to the discourse of *antihaitianismo*, as it allowed for all Dominicans to discriminate against Haitians on the basis of a perceived racial difference. Quite a few of the elements of *antihaitianismo* as a discourse existed prior to Trujillo's dictatorship and formed the background on which he formalized the discourse as "an official state ideology" to use Sagás' words. Those elements were the strong allegiance to Hispanic cultural roots, the negation of the black element in Dominican national history and a fear of renewed military occupation by Haitian forces (Sagás 2000:41).

Trujillo and Balaguer: the formalization of *antihaitianismo* as a state discourse

It is clear from the historical sources that anti-Haitian sentiments existed in the Dominican Republic prior to Trujillo's rule, yet *antihaitianismo* was nevertheless formalized during the political leadership of Dictator Rafael Trujillo (Sagás 2000:22). This part of the chapter will briefly explore a few aspects of this process of formalization. It will begin with Trujillo's propaganda campaign, which Balaguer was in charge of executing. The militarization of the border and the massacre of Haitians in the borderlands in 1937 will then be discussed. Finally, the continuation of *antihaitianismo* as a state discourse also after the death of Trujillo and the end of his dictatorship will be illustrated by the creation of a monument to Columbus by Balaguer's political party.

During the dictatorship from 1930 to 1961 Trujillo was professed a messianic leader. Trujillo esteemed Hispanic culture and Catholicism as the backbone of the Dominican nation. Of the dictatorship Sagás says,

"It concocted the hitherto loose and unorganized ideas of antihaitianismo into a full-fledged ideology that perceived Haitians as inferior beings and enemies of the Dominican nation (Sagás 2000:45)".

Trujillo employed two of the major historical and literary figures of his country, Peña Battle and Balaguer. The two intellectuals represented the discourse of the Trujillo regime both nationally and internationally and wrote several letters explaining the necessity of *antihaitianismo* for the survival of the culture and people (perceived race) of the Dominican Republic (Sagás 2000:49-50).

According to Sagás, the most important channels used by Trujillo to spread *antihaitianismo* to the inhabitants of the Dominican Republic were the Catholic Church, Trujillo's own political party the *Partido Dominicano,* which most adults were required to be members of, and the State Machinery in general (Sagás 2000:59-61). School textbooks were designed to present only the Hispanic and Catholic heritage of the country and to depict Haitians as ape-like and Dominicans like Spaniards. The history

books emphasized the perceived terrible suffering of Dominicans under Haitian military rule (Sagás 2000:62).

In 1937, the Trujillo regime murdered thousands of Haitians residing in the borderlands area and simultaneously expulsed all Haitian nationals from the country[15]. The only exception was the Haitians working and residing in the Dominican sugarcane bateyes (Krohn-Hansen 2001:80). Trujillo began the process of strengthening the national discourse in the borderland areas by implementing military presence, augmenting agriculture and building schools. Krohn-Hansen emphasizes that even though the massacre was implemented and led from the capital, it would soon gain the approval of the majority of the Dominican population due to an existing anti-Haitian sentiment and the success of Trujillo's propaganda (Krohn-Hansen 2001:80). This physical and symbolic expulsion of the perceived Haitian "other" throughout Trujillo's regime also had implications for darker-skinned Dominicans. Under the dictatorship and during the political leadership of Balaguer, the darker skinned Dominicans were frequently stigmatized due to their supposed lack of Dominican roots and were referred to as "Haitian", in a political climate where "Haitians" were perceived of as a national threat (Krohn-Hansen 2001:101).

Krohn-Hansen insists that the treatment of dark skinned Dominicans has a clear connection to the Dominican state narratives about Columbus. This, he states, was the case both during Trujillo's reign and after his assassination. Krohn-Hansen analyses the 1992 celebration of the 500 year jubilee of Columbus's discovery of the island as a means for the government to convey racist ideas (Krohn-Hansen 2001:102). The five hundred year anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas was celebrated by the "Balaguerstate" by opening a grand monument for Columbus, named "El Faro a Colón", formed as a lighthouse. This lighthouse is the home of what the Dominican state claims, and has always claimed, to be the remnants of Columbus' remains. The gigantic monument was inaugurated in the presence of the Pope and representatives of foreign nations on October 12th 1992 (Krohn-Hansen 2001:99). The idea behind this grave stems back to 1870s colonial nationalists and was under planning also by the Trujillo regime.

[15] It remains highly uncertain how many were murdered in the massacre. Krohn-Hansen follows Vega in asserting that the most likely figure that has been presented is between 4000-6000 victims (Krohn-Hansen 2001:80).

Krohn-Hansen explains that this monument was another opportunity for the Dominican state to present their country as "Spanish, Catholic and white" at the expense of "black and African" (Krohn-Hansen 2001:104).

Balaguer was the Dominican President during three time periods, the first as a President under the Trujillo regime from 1960-1962, then for twelve years from 1966 to 1978 and again from 1986 to 1996 (Sagás 2000:99-105). He continued to be a known promoter of the *antihaitianismo* discourse throughout this time, albeit not as an official political discourse. Sagás claims that *antihaitianismo* is far from dead in the Dominican Republic and that new generations of intellectuals have simply re-centered the debate around cultural and national differences, rather than racial ones, yet retained the same sentiment (Sagás 2000:73).

There are many indicators in Dominican society that *antihaitianismo* is still a prevalent discourse. For instance, the government behind the new metro-line in the capital of the Dominican Republic, which was officially inaugurated in 2009, has honored the two main intellectuals behind the discourse, Balaguer and Peña Battle, by naming metro-stops after them[16]. The current President, Danilo Medina of the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana does not have a link to *antihaitianismo* as a discourse but nevertheless is rumored to be the only Dominican President to be directly descendent from a founding father: namely, Sánchez[17]. Another political leader however, of the political party Partido Reformista Social Cristiano, Ferderico Battle, is quoted in an online newspaper article from May 2014 with the citation "Balaguer is the greatest Dominican of the past years"[18].

The Sugarcane Industry and Haitian immigration

Haitian immigration to the Dominican Republic continued to grow during the 19 hundreds despite the discourse of *antihaitianismo*. The sugarcane industry became

[16] http://www.urbanrail.net/am/sdom/santo-domingo.htm
[17] http://hoy.com.do/genealogia-materna-del-presidente-danilo-medina/
[18] My translation, http://www.acento.com.do/index.php/news/185907/56/PRSC-enfrenta-a-Matias-Bosch-Balaguer-es-el-dominicano-mas-grande-de-los-ultimos-tiempos.html

unattractive to the Dominican workers fairly early due to the reduced buying power of the wages. By 1884, workers from Puerto Rico and the Lesser Antilles were contracted by the sugarcane companies to work seasonally on the plantations (Martínez 1995:38). Between 1900 and 1930, most *braceros* (cane-cutters) were recruited from the islands of the British West Indies. By the late 1920's, however, fewer *braceros* decided to come from the West Indies due to better paid work elsewhere. The solution to the diminishing supply of workers to the sugarcane plantations were found in Haiti. According to Martínez there are official records that suggest that as early as 1920 there were equal numbers of *braceros* from Haiti and the West Indies on the plantations (Martínez 1995:40).

During the first years of Trujillo's reign, the dictator attempted to pass legislation that would hinder the flow of Haitian immigrants to the country. Laws were passed in 1934, 1935 and 1938 that forced all businesses to employ at least 70% Dominican nationals. Sugarcane companies were, however, routinely exempted from this rule by Trujillo. It was clear that Trujillo wanted foreign labor in the country to be restricted to the sugarcane plantations (Martínez 1995:44). Martínez says the following about the result of the 1937 massacre,

"Regardless of the dictator's intentions, no more chilling way could be imagined of conveying to Haitian immigrants that the sugar *bateyes* would thereafter be their only secure place on Dominican soil" (Martínez 1995:45).

After the Second World War and the following deficit on sugar in Europe, the sugarcane industry became financially appealing to the dictator Trujillo. He entered the industry in 1948 by constructing the *Ingenio* (sugar mill) Central Catarey (Cuevas 1999:158-159). Trujillo established two *ingenios*, the other was Ingenio Río Haina, to which Bateye Guarero in this thesis belonged. Through coercion and harassment Trujillo also forced foreign owners to sell ten sugar estates to him. By the time of his assassination in 1961, Trujillo-owned mills produced close to two-thirds of the country's sugar (Martínez 1995:46). After the end of the dictatorship, the Dominican government controlled the sugar plantations previously owned by Trujillo. Due to political instability

as various political actors fought for power, a state organ to run the sugar plantations was not entirely in place until 1966 when CEA, the State Sugarcane Consortium (Consejo Estatal del Azúcar) was created.

To manage the high levels of production, Trujillo had various agreements with the state leaders of Haiti on legal recruitment of large numbers of *braceros* (cane-cutters). These contracts were continued under the Presidency of Balaguer once CEA was established (Martínez 1995:46). There was both legal recruitment and "under the fence" immigration of Haitian *braceros* to the Dominican sugar plantations. These uncontrolled and always shifting agreements between the dictatorships of Haiti and the Dominican Republic has ultimately led to controversy over the claim to Dominican citizenship by the children of these migrants, to which I return after a brief sketch of what is known about everyday life on one of these sugar plantations called bateye.

The CEA *bateyes*: living conditions and social organization

The name bateye has been used for the area pertaining to sugarcane plantations since their origin. In the Dominican Republic, bateyes have been established and run by private companies who often had sole jurisdiction within the area. Only after the death of Trujillo did a large amount of them become incorporated in the Dominican State. Frank Moya Pons defines the bateye as:

"a rural community whose population works predominantly in labor related to the sowing, cutting, loading, weighing, and transportation of the sugarcane to the sugarcane-mills" (Moya Pons 1986:17[19]).

This thesis will illustrate and argue that a bateye entails a categorization as "Haitian", which at this point in time has more to do with *antihaitianismo* than with cutting sugarcane. Wooding and Moseley-Williams (2004) describe the sugarcane plantations

[19] My translation

prior to Trujillo and CEA (before Bateye Guarero existed) as a "state within a state". They explain this by saying that:

"They grew up as an enclave in the full sense of the term, legally and economically separated as far as possible from wider society. Most of the labor force was foreign. Law and order, housing, roads, transport, essential services and shops were provided by the company. In the early days the Dominican peso did not circulate on the plantations, which paid wages in tokens redeemable only in the company stores" (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004:40).

Wooding and Moseley-Williams do not specify differences between the bateyes after the State began to own and operate them. It is likely that there were differences, yet relevant research on this topic does not exist. The only bateyes to ever come under extensive research were the ones owned by CEA. This research was conducted under the leadership of Dominican sociologist Frank Moya Pons in the 1986 work named *El Bateye.* Wooding and Moseley-Williams and Frank Moya Pons do however describe the social organization of bateyes in the same way. The settlement pattern consists of one Central Bateye, which holds the sugar-mill (usually referred to as Ingenio), factories and general administration. The Central Bateye was predominantly Dominican, and these jobs were held by Dominican nationals. The Central Bateye was surrounded by outlying Agricultural bateyes (usually referred to as bateye) that housed workers of predominantly foreign nationality (From West Indies or Haiti) (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004:40, Frank Moya Pons 1986:17).

The bateyes housed only single-men who where seasonal migrant laborers, but after some time it became beneficial for the sugarcane companies to keep a higher number of workers on full time for maintenance work, and the bateyes became areas of family and community life. As women began to settle with men and children were born in the bateyes, commerce was established. This attracted Dominican nationals to the area. Unemployment outside the bateye was growing, and Dominican nationals sought work with sugarcane as well (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004:40).

This thesis is about one such bateye, Bateye Guarero, that used to be an agricultural bateye, but is now inactive. The sugar mill Río Haina was constructed in 1951 by Trujillo, and was for a long time the largest sugar mill in the Dominican

Republic. It was so large that it continued to operate below capacity because it was not possible to secure the necessary amount of sugarcane (Cuevas 1999:159). Bateye Guarero and Bateye Alto belonged to this *ingenio*.

Information specifically detailing the living conditions in Bateye Guarero and Bateye Alto can not be found. The bateyes are individually registered in relation to number of inhabitants, which is under 500 for Bateye Guarero and a few hundred more in Bateye Alto (Moya 1986). Moya presents figures about the general living conditions in CEA bateyes based on interviews of between 1000 and 2500 people in the various bateyes he choose to investigate. The results show striking poverty. Only 3,4 % had running water from taps (presumably connected to an electric water-pump). The rest had communal wells, or used close-by rivers. 33,4 % had electricity, but it was only common when in central areas that already had a functioning electronic system. The garbage was never picked up, only the main office had a phone, and the mail system did not function (Moya 1986:56-59). 54,6 % were illiterate, and the majority had received no formal education. The few medics in bateyes functioned without basic equipment and medicine and the average diet was far from sufficient or ideal (Moya 1986:62-66).

Bateye Guarero as an active bateye:

In Bateye Guarero, a central point of conversation between the older population and I was always "what it was like during the sugarcane"[20]. As I had expected to study life in a sugar-producing bateye I was very curious about the theme, and the elderly were more than happy to talk to me about it. The elderly Haitian nationals have very varying stories of how their got to Bateye Guarero. Some say they were hired in Haiti to work on the sugarcane plantations by *buscones* (the sugar company/CEA's hired recruitment forces). Others say they simply crossed the borders illegally and bribed the police and military forces they met on the way. Almost all of the Haitian nationals in Bateye Guarero recount leaving for the Dominican Republic with a small group of relatives or friends from their home village. This pattern of migration resonates with that described by Martínez (1995)

[20] "Como era durante la caña"

in his study of both a home village in Haiti and a bateye in the south-east Dominican Republic[21].

Martínez conducted fieldwork in a bateye in 1986 and describes it as a place everyone expect and wish to leave. He says,

"No sugar estate resident, Dominican or Haitian, even those born and raised in the *batey*, speaks of Yerba Buena as anything more than a stopping point on the way to where he or she would rather be" (Martínez 1995:66).

This view of bateye life does not resonate well with the nostalgia the elderly and even the middle-aged express about the sugarcane era in Bateye Guarero. This romanticism might be a result of the constant deterioration of living conditions since the downfall of CEA. In a later book based on the same fieldwork in 1986 and shorter visits to the same *bateye* in the two decades that followed, Martínez states that things had gotten significantly worse in the *bateye* in the fifteen years after his primary fieldwork (Martínez 2007:xii). It is plausible then that the nostalgic sentiments towards the sugarcane era among the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero stem from the deterioration of the community (see chapter 3) and the higher levels of poverty that struck them as an inactive bateye.

Even though reminiscing about the past is mostly an activity of the elderly, sentiments of nostalgia are echoed by most of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero. They stress that living conditions were better because the CEA took care of housing, electricity, the water supply and the road. Commerce and the liveliness of the weekend market is also missed, as Laura explained "The money was circulating and it attracted sellers, we could buy anything before. Now we are forced to be vegetarians for the lack of meat on sale!".

The elderly in Bateye Guarero describe cutting sugarcane as hard work and admit that they worked twelve hours and only had Sunday to rest. The elderly Haitian man Tomas explained that even though wages were low, he could afford a decent meal for his family when he cut sugarcane, but he is unable to now. Tomas further explained that single men had lived up to nine people in one barrack room with only a mattress as a

[21] Martínez (1995) also gives an in-depth study of the reasons for emigration from Haiti.

personal possession. Families were given private housing. José, an elderly Dominican man who left his family behind to work in the sugarcane industry often misses the company of his many roommates now that he lives alone. Resources were to a large extent shared, communal cooking was common, and all community members came together to care for the sick who were unable to work in the fields. This bond of solidarity is stressed by Martínez as a necessary survival strategy that has saved many from starvation during periods of disability (Martínez 1995:148).

This positive view of the past as a sugarcane producing bateye does not correspond well with the documented atrocities against human rights that can be seen in Martínez' work and human rights reports. I have heard no mention in Bateye Guarero of the practices of having armed guards monitor the movements of the *braceros* (cane-cutters) to keep them from leaving, or of the workers being paid in coupons only valid at the company store (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004:40). Nor have my informants mentioned that an amount of their pay was withheld to the end of the harvest to convince them not to leave the plantation or that any of them had been apprehended in another part of the country and shipped to the bateye by Dominican police/military in order to save the sugarcane harvest in times of shortages in manual labor (Martínez 1995:50). All of these human rights violations have been documented in other bateyes.

The information gathered from people in Bateye Guarero presents the bateye under CEA as one with relatively good living conditions. The bateye community is described as a leading bateye where Dominicans who worked at higher levels of the plantation system also lived (the transporters and the weighters of the sugarcane). According to Martínez, in 1986, 90 % of cane cutters in the Dominican Republic were Haitian nationals or second- and third-generation descendants from Haitian immigrants (Martínez 1995:6). This does not correspond with the higher number of people with Dominican descent in Bateye Guarero[22]. It is likely that what appears to be a higher presence of Dominican nationals in Bateye Guarero during sugarcane production might have led to better treatment of the workers.

[22] It remains uncertain what the real percentage of Dominican descendant people in Bateye Guarero is, but I estimate it to 20 percent, based on what people have told me about their own and other people's ancestry.

Becoming an inactive bateye: the downfall of CEA

There exist quite a few theories on why the CEA went bankrupt and had to shut down sugarcane production[23]. Wooding and Moseley-Williams (2004) claim that

> "The cause was the collapse of the State owned sugar industry in the late 1980s due to the fall of international prices for sugar, the reduction of the U.S sugar import quota for the Dominican Republic, and the corruption and inefficiency of the CEA, which failed to invest in modernizing its plantations even when the industry was booming (Wooding & Moseley-Williams 2004:42).

The ten state-owned *ingenios* were all leased to private companies by the harvest in 2000. Wooding and Moseley-Williams claim that the result was disastrous because of the nature and interests of the companies, which had not been properly vetted. The companies ran the industry aground because they were not interested in a long term investment. Certain companies did better than others. The one who started production in Monte Plata closed down quickly, yet other companies continued the sugarcane production, albeit at a different rate (Martínez 2007).

When the state sugarcane production ceased, the high number of Haitian immigrants in the country became a financial liability rather than a resource to the Dominican government. This might have been one reason for the intensification of the debate on the rights to citizenship for children of these Haitian immigrants in the decade that followed.

Constitutional changes to citizenship law: the greatest challenge to Dominicans of Haitian descent

The most pressing challenge for Dominicans of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic is the issue of identity-papers. Their right to citizenship is established in the Dominican Constitution, but a recent Constitutional ruling followed amendments to the

[23] See Cuevas 1999 and Martínez 2007 for an exploration of more reasons than the one presented here.

Constitution in 2010 that indicate that this will not always be the case. The Dominican Constitution applies the *Jus Soli* principal of citizenship, based on place of birth. In 2010, an amendment to the constitution ensured that children born to parents without legal residence in the country would not be eligible for citizenship because the parents are "in transit". The "In transit" clause of the Constitution previously applied to diplomats, travelers and short-term visitors.

On the ground testimony by organizations such as The Human Rights Watch has shown discrimination by officials at the Junta Central Electoral long before the 2010 amendment, who refuse to issue birth certificates and *cedulas* (Dominican identity-card) to people perceived to be of Haitian descent[24]. Identity-papers are essential for access to all civil rights in the Dominican Republic, and as Ferguson (2003) shows, are what keep Dominicans of Haitian descent from being deported. The last mass-expulsions took place in 1991, 1996, 1997 and 1999. Since then, many day to day expulsions of individuals and groups have occurred (Ferguson 2003:17).

In 2010, under the political leadership of President Leonel Fernández, amendments were made to the principle of *Jus Soli* in the Constitution[25]. The wording "in transit" was to mean anyone without permanent residency status, and simultaneously taking a step toward the *Jus Sanguini* principal by stating that Dominican nationality belongs to any child of a Dominican mother or father regardless of place of birth (Holmes 2011: 49).

The *Jus Soli* doctrine has meant that in the Dominican Republic, the birth certificate functions as evidence of nationality in the country. To be able to apply for a *cedula* one's birth must be registered. It is the civil registry officials who decide whether a child brought before them has a right to Dominican nationality, and therefore whether it will be given a birth certificate (Wooding 2008:368). Wooding explains that

"If the official decides that the child does not qualify for Dominican nationality – such as is the case for unauthorized migrants from Haiti- they will refuse to register the birth and there is no clear appeal system against such a decision" (Wooding 2008:368).

[24] See Human Rights Watch online: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/domrep/domrep0402.pdf.
[25] Go to appendix 1 for my translation of the section on Citizenship from the educational book *La nueva Constitución* 2010:8-9.

Wooding elaborates on the situation by suggesting that decisions met by officials on whether parents are Haitian or not, and whether the children qualify for Dominican nationality is often arbitrary, as "documentation may be refused if they do not have Dominican *cedulas*, they have Haitian sounding names, or they are black and speak accented Spanish" (Wooding 2008:369).

Wooding & Moseley-Williams point out that the extensive bureaucracy to issue "declaración tardia"[26], which must be done if the child has not been declared the first 60 days after birth, has led to large numbers of Dominicans without identity-papers, newspapers even reporting numbers as high as two million (Moseley-Williams & Wooding 2004:50). Yet according to a 1995 estimate done by the Dominican-Haitian Cultural Center, only 25% of *rayanos* (the term used for sons and daughters of Haitians nationals born in the DR) have been granted legal Dominican status (Corten, Duarte, Soto & Fridman 1995:99).

Amnesty International reports that on September 23rd 2013, the Dominican Supreme Court ruled that a Dominican born woman, Juliana Deguis, who was born in the Monte Plata province in 1984 to Haitian parents, was wrongly declared as Dominican at her birth. Her parents were considered "foreigners in transit" because they could not prove their legal status in the Dominican Republic. The court further ruled that the Central Electoral Board was to search through all birth registers since 1929 for people who have been registered under the same principles. Deguis has been allowed to stay in the country pending a National Regularization Plan that will decide the fate of those deemed to be residing illegally in the country[27].

The court ruling has been condemned by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, a court organ that once before overruled the Dominican Republic in a similar case due to fact that the notion of inherited illegality from parent to child was against the Constitution of the Dominican Republic at the time (in 2005 during the "Yean and

[26] See JCE website for information of late declaration: http://soporte.jce.gob.do/PreguntasFrecuentes/Detalle/tabid/64/ArticleId/6/%C2%BFCuales-son-los-requisitos-para-una-declaracion-tardia-de-nacimiento.aspx.

[27] http:/www.amnestyusa.org/news/news-item/Dominican-republic-must-retract-ruling-that-could-leave-thousands-stateless

Bosico" case[28]). Organizations now react to the 2013 ruling because of its retroactive element, which they also deem unconstitutional. International organs such as the United Nations and Amnesty International have strongly condemned the court ruling. Amnesty International reports on their website that "If implemented in this way, the ruling would violate the Dominican Republic's human rights obligations. It also contravenes a 2005 landmark decision of the Inter-American Court for Human Rights and breaks a basic principle of law, explicitly stated in the Dominican Constitution, which prohibits retroactive application of the law[29]". The spokesperson for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, told reporters in Geneva that "We are extremely concerned that a ruling of the Dominican Republic Constitutional Court may deprive tens of thousands of people of nationality, virtually all of them of Haitian descent, and have a very negative impact on their other rights[30].

The outline of the historical and political situation concerning Haitian immigration to the Dominican Republic and the social stigma towards this category of people has influenced identity-management in Bateye Guarero. How *antihaitianismo* has affected self-identification and contributed to negotiation of the stigma through practices, will be discussed in the last and final section of this chapter.

Identity-management in Bateye Guarero: negotiating the stigma of *antihaitianismo*

The historical and political background outlined above and the resulting social stigma against Haitian people has influenced identity-management in Bateye Guarero. In the first instance it seems to have forced the inhabitants to identify themselves as Dominican in order to gain social acceptance outside of the bateye community. Martínez believes the same was necessary for his informants and he states that "the only way children of Haitians have been able to gain social acceptance outside the batey is by denying their Haitian ancestry" (Martínez 2007:69). In the second instance, it has led to negotiations

[28] http:/www.dominicantoday.com/dr/local/2013/10/7/49196/Condemnation-from-high-Court-rulig-inevitable-lawyers-say
[29] amnesty.org ibid.
[30] www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=46152&Cr=haiti&Cr1#.UyiBQPl5O4K

with this social stigma and the discourse. Certain elements of the discourse have been internalized and other aspects have been rejected in this ongoing process of identity-management in Bateye Guarero. I will first present the practices that negate elements of their Haitian ancestry, and second outline some conflicting ideas that exist in Bateye Guarero about Haitian nationals and their descendants.

In Bateye Guarero, only the elderly people who were actually born in Haiti would identify themselves as Haitian. Preoccupied as I was with the question of national identity, I continuously asked the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero which country they were citizens of, whether they felt tied to Haiti, and whether they spoke Haitian Creole. My unsavory questions always received "no" for an answer. Everyone in Bateye Guarero said they were Dominican, although some would upon my nagging add that their parents or grandparents were Haitian. It took quite some time for people to admit that they had Haitian ancestry and that they spoke Haitian Creole because that information can lead to discrimination. In light of the Constitutional ruling of September 2013, it is apparent that the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero have a lot too lose from being seen as Haitian.

Most of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero have Dominican identity-papers. It remains the case, nevertheless, that most of them are descendents of Haitian laborers on the sugar plantation, and most have been declared by parents who used *Ficha* (the identification paper for the Haitian cane-cutters provided by CEA). Because of this, they risk getting their citizenship revoked after the Constitutional ruling of September 2013. During my fieldwork, however, their ability to negotiate and legitimate their Dominican self-identification was quite successful, and this thesis outlines the various ways in which they succeeded. Even so, this section will explore the limitations to this success and the impact of *antihaitianismo* on ideas about themselves, and Haitian nationals and their descendants in general.

As I did not have access to state registration offices, I could not make an assessment of how many of the inhabitants, or even which of the inhabitants, were of Dominican descent and which were not. The families in Bateye Guarero that continued to claim they were of Dominican descent throughout my fieldwork, would remark to me that they originally came from neighboring (non-bateye) communities or other places in the Dominican Republic. Estimates on number of inhabitants with Dominican descent

based on un-official identification of themselves and other bateye inhabitants would land at around 20 percent.

I argue that the existence of this small minority of Dominican descendant people in Bateye Guarero has been the foundation upon which collective identification has occurred. As shall be discussed in Chapter 5, the inhabitants of the neighboring bateye scorn people in Bateye Guarero for negating their Haitian heritage and pretending that they don't understand Haitian Creole. In fact, Haitian Creole is hardly ever spoken outside of the home, despite many elderly people not speaking a word of Spanish. The youth play baseball, and not soccer, which is the popular sport in Haiti and bateyes near the border. The girls dance Merengue with each other at night time, and use Haitian influenced *gagá* only as a joke. Few publicly admit to their Haitian heritage, or see it as relevant to their self-identification. Yet the alleged negation of Haitian heritage among the population in Bateye Guarero is not just lack of interest in something unfamiliar to them, it is an active choice of self-identification, further supported by accepting popular narratives from the Dominican State.

Martínez explains how Dominican people are not perceived as black. In order to fit into the Dominican national identity one has to negate blackness and at the same time Haitian heritage,

"Popular discourse categorizes no Dominicano as "black" (read purely African) and accords every Dominicano a greater or lesser measure of European blood and hence a higher status with regard to race than the black immigrant from Haiti" (Martínez 1997:236).

Although many inhabitants of Bateye Guarero are aware and will admit upon question that their parents or grandparent are/were Haitian, they do refer to themselves and each other as *Moreno,* that is brown (as opposed to black). Nicknames such as *Negrita (little black woman)* are common, however, and women constantly complain about their appearance and how much harder they have to work on it because they are darker. The salon is very expensive and far away, and managing ones own hair without the straightening equipment found at salons is considered difficult. Being brown instead of black is in Bateye Guarero more connected to hair-style and clothing than to actual facial

features or skin-tones, as most of the inhabitants are equally dark-skinned. As other scholar have remarked, hair-braiding is connected to Haitian identity and is widely unpopular for women over the age of 12 (Holmes 2011).

The women in Bateye Guarero go to the salon as often as they can afford, but generally can only go for special occasions. To keep their hair straightened for as long as possible they swirl the hair around their heads, fasten it with bobby-pins and put a hair-net on. The hair-net is the most common daily hair-style in Bateye Guarero. Some of the elderly women still braid their hair, but afros are nowhere to be seen.

Both women and men are interested in dressing and acting Dominican: in accordance with the discourse of a Spanish cultural heritage and with having indio blood. A practice that both men and women relate to is "whitening" through mixed babies, or rich international partners. Although chances of meeting someone from another country or even someone much more light-skinned than one-self are slim, this is often discussed for fun among men and women in Bateye Guarero.

Self-Identification as Dominican over Haitian is in Bateye Guarero largely an issue of practice, and not outspoken prejudice ideas about Haitian people. Brendbekken describes a scenario in her doctoral study in a Dominican-Haitian border-town in which Haitians are looked down on in public settings, but develop close friendships with Dominicans in private (Brendbekken 2008:234). Brendbekken finds that local understandings of "race" are indeed conflated with ideas about culture and natural attributes, but that this discourse is contradicted in the fact that Haitians can "dominicanize" through language and behavior. In Brendbekken's study, Dominicans find Haitians to be smelly, and do not touch them publicly, even though they might have close connections with them privately (Brendbekken 2008:248). These discourses of outright racism are not prevalent in Bateye Guarero, but the possibility to "dominicanize" through ones behavior is of importance.

There is no public differentiation between Dominican and Haitian nationals or the descendants of Haitian nationals. Even so, explicit ideas about Haitians exist, even if they are not connected to individuals, they are connected to practices and bodily conditions such as Voodoo, hard physical labor, stupidity and ugliness. The way to publicly self-

identity as Dominican in Bateye Guarero is therefore to avoid these practices and bodily conditions, and thereby "Dominicanize".

No public prejudice against Haitians is expressed in Bateye Guarero. Even so, social status is linked to those practices that follow the Dominican ideal: practices which require money. As confidences grew between the inhabitants and the anthropologist, it became clear that ideas about Haitians were expressed privately. These ideas were inconsistent with each other as "Haitians" were presented as equal and similar to themselves or as different and inferior. It is worth noting that these opinions tended to correspond with whether the person was in fact of Haitian heritage or not. For instance Maria, a woman of Dominican descent with a strong socioeconomic position said to me one evening as we sat together in usual fashion that "Haitians are bad people" [31]. I was surprised that this was her view, and asked her in what way. "They leave their families to earn money and they don't return". It was Maria's view that Haitians cared more about money than their families and that Haitians were stingy with their money. It turned out, upon further questioning, that she did not mean the Haitians in Bateye Guarero, because they were alright.

Diana, a young woman of mixed parentage explained to me that Haitians had problems with the Dominican state because they could be stupid sometimes. [32] She told me this as she explained that children born to Haitians often don't get identity-papers because they make mistakes with the names. For instance, she grew up with two brothers with identical names, and when one went to get his *cedula* at 18, he got the wrong one. Now both of them are without identity-papers.

Others, such as the young mom Alexandria, told me that "Haitians and Dominicans are the same. We are just as poor. Sometimes it is better here (Dominican Republic) and sometimes it is better there (Haiti)". [33] During a visit with a family of Haitian descent one afternoon, I told the family about a radiobroadcast I had heard while in the capital. The radio host had been interviewing a man about Haitians in the Dominican Republic and he had said that they were lazy, in search of easy money in the

[31] "Haitianos son mala gente. Dejan a su familia pa' ganarse su cuarto y no se vuelvan"
[32] "No, es que son tontas, a veces no entienden (points at head)".
[33] "No hay differencia entre nosotros y ellos (Haitianos), somos pobres y ya. A veces es mejor acá, y a veces es mejor allá".

country. The young men of the family were all outraged at this description of Haitians, and immediately began to tell me that Haitians were the only ones who worked in this country and that without Haitian labor, the Dominican Republic would never have managed to build the new metro-line in the capital.

It is clear that there is no uniform opinion about Haitian nationals among the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero. Even though blatant racism is uncommon in bateye life, common practices display a desire to be seen as Dominican. Parts of the social stigma of Haitians is also reproduced, for instance their alleged stupidity and their stinginess As I have spent little time outside of the Bateye communities, I am uncertain exactly how the people of Bateye Guarero are perceived by the Dominican civil society, but other scholars have shown that bateye-dwellers are linked to Haitian heritage, poverty and low social standing (Martínez 1995, Howard 2001). In the neighboring village I once overheard one girl saying to the other "you need to go to the salon soon, you look like you're from Guarero right now". Martínez explains that "Dominicans regard "*batey"* as practically synonymous with "awful"" (Martínez 1995: xi).

The following chapters outline practices that indicate ways of negotiating and maintaining a Dominican self-identification, specifically through consumption practices, religious practices and a Farmers Union struggle for the right to State-owned land. The practices of identity-management are also connected to images of the state in Bateye Guarero. Martínez writes about popular images of the nation in a Dominican Bateye. About the images presented by bateye-residents in the southeast he says,

"More surprisingly, these images sooner confirm than contest officially-approved versions of history, that glorify the Spaniard, Sanctify the native american, ignore the African and demonize the Haitian" (Martínez 1997:228).

In Bateye Guarero, the same images of the state are expressed, as children have learned about their Spanish heritage in school. Most people in Bateye Guarero are unfamiliar with their history of slavery and heritage from Africa. The only image that does not seem to be presented is that of the Demonized Haitian. The practices associated with Haitian culture, however, are strongly frowned upon, as can be seen in chapter 5.

Martínez explains that in the bateye he studied there was no clear or significant tension between Dominicans and Haitians, but that even so it would be a mistake to believe that there were no tensions (Martínez 1997:231). The lines between Dominicans and Haitians have become significantly more blurred in Bateye Guarero after it became an inactive bateye, and even though no Dominican-Haitian tension is seen, I believe that it manifests itself in practice. Chapter 3 explains how resources have created a larger difference between families of Dominican and families of Haitian descent. Practices of consumerism are tearing at community values and financial and social resources are becoming a way to express Dominican self-identification, as well as distance oneself from the poor inhabitants who are more often victims of the social stigma that stems from the *antihaitianismo* discourse. The poorer inhabitants are more often stigmatized as bateye-dwellers who are perceived to be poor, illiterate, incapable of taking care of their appearance, ugly and stupid.

That the national Dominican identity is constructed around an incorporation of social, cultural and racial elements leads to triple discrimination against poor, black and Haitian descendent people. I argue that this correlating of elements also allows for a relative superseding of race by incorporation of the right social and cultural elements: that is social status through money on "Dominicanizing" practices. Martínez says that "A link between racial and class prejudice is evident in the commonly expressed opinion that "money whitens", and in the custom of referring to even dark-skinned elites as "blancos" (Martínez 1997:235). Money will allow for a life-style influenced by the principles of the Dominican national identity.

Despite the prevalence of *antihaitianismo* in the country, Howard points to the fact that "The Dominican Republic has had more *negro* or *mulatto* presidents than any other Hispanic country in the western hemisphere" (Howard 2001:59). Howard further illustrates the correlation between race and class in his description of the situation of a young woman who was tired of Dominican racism and wanted to change the color description on her *cedula* (identification card). She had been classified as *Blanca* even through she was relatively dark skinned, and had to argue with the clerk at the registration office to be given the category *mulata* instead (Howard 2001:70). A poor and dark-skinned Dominican, on the other hand, will be called *Haitiano/a* as an insult.

Poverty is thus linked to Haitians and any wealth used to acquire a style of life considered Dominican, might encourage perceived upward social mobility. In the following chapter I will illustrate how this link between racism, cultural and class prejudice, that has evolved through historical and political influence, is the key to the identity-management, agency and use of resources in Bateye Guarero.

Chapter 3

Community changes in Bateye Guarero: consumption and career choices

This chapter will discuss current changes to the social organization of Bateye Guarero. The primary part of the chapter will discuss the changes in social organization after the sugarcane production ended. This will include an exploration of the influence of non-profit organizations in creating a "rights discourse". How community spirit gave way to family priorities due to arising differences in economic and symbolic capital will then be described and illustrated. The second part of the chapter will discuss the agentive capacity inherent in consumption practices and illustrate the social value of consumption in Bateye Guarero. It will be argued that consumption practices constitute an arena for contesting and reinforcing social inequalities in the bateye through participation in "Dominicanizing" practices. The third part of the chapter describes the career choices of the middle-aged and the young as these groups attempt to secure cash income, the middle-aged by engaging in a program sponsored by Mosctha and the young by leaving the bateye to seek wage-work. The concluding part of the chapter debates the social ramifications of the resulting depopulation and the use of the bateye as a "home base" for those who left. It will be argued that Bateye Guarero will not be sustainable as a "home base" unless a certain amount of young people invest time and energy into both State and non-profit initiatives in the area, and start subsistence farming. It will also be argued that Mocstha's bakery program and the popularity of Pentecostal churches might be influential in inclining more young people to remain in the bateye.

Bateye Guarero after the sugarcane: changes to social organization

The previous chapter indicated the high level of social control and state interference in Bateye Guarero during the sugarcane production. The Dominican State, through the State Sugarcane Consortium (henceforth CEA) controlled working hours, wages, housing, electricity, water-supply, limitation of physical movement and access to consumer goods (see chapter 2 for details). When the sugarcane production ended in 1999, the Sugarcane Consortium removed State resources from the area (except the local elementary school), and left Bateye Guarero without access to state social services, income and aid. Soon after, both water-supply and electricity failed, the roads worsened and houses began to deteriorate. Various aid-organizations have since helped with nutrition, housing, churches and emergency relief projects.

The end of sugarcane production had two consequences that have formed the social organization of Bateye Guarero since: namely the influence of non-profit organizations and the growing socioeconomic differences between the inhabitants which has led to a prioritization of family values over community bonds. The various non-profit organizations that work in the bateye community were presented in chapter 1. This section will mostly address the way this aid has shaped ideas about social change in Bateye Guarero.

Non-profit influence: the "rights discourse"

The most prominent organization in Bateye Guarero is currently Mosctha. Along with their various aid initiatives concerning health and finance (see chapter 1), Mosctha has, since the 2010 Constitutional amendments, increased their efforts to secure people of Haitian descent access to official identity-papers. The organization hosts international awareness campaigns and exhibitions from their U.S headquarters. During my fieldwork, Mosctha had the campaign "No human being is illegal" for which they produced bracelets and posters. The organization provides the legal assistance all the people who lack identity-papers in Bateye Guarero, and the other Monte Plata communities,

including Juliana Deguis, whose case about her right to Dominican identity-papers went to the Dominican Supreme Court (see chapter 2).

It is through expressed ideas about the right to official identity that it becomes most clear that people in Bateye Guarero are highly influenced by a "rights discourse". The book *Culture and Rights* (2001) edited by Cowan, Dembour and Wilson, mainly focuses on the situations in which culture in an object of rights discourses in struggles for the "right to culture", but is nevertheless useful in this context at it explains that there can exist a "culture of rights", of which the book says:

> It proposes that rights constitute a kind of culture, in the sense that the rights discourse embodies certain features that anthropologists recognize as constituting culture. Rights – understood as rights talk, rights thinking, rights practices – entail certain constructions of self and sociality, and specific modes of agency (Cowen, Dembour, Wilson 2001:11).

One impact of such a "culture of rights" is found in Bateye Guarero residents' views on rights to official identity-papers. Because I found it difficult to get the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero to discuss their lack of identity-papers with me, I asked one of my closest interlocutors to introduce me to some of the people he knew that lacked official documentation. Pretty soon, we found ourselves sitting on a patio with the handful of young Haitian nationals in the bateye and the *Alcalde* (lowest ranking official jurisdiction, the chosen political leader from Bateye Guarero). Once the political leader learned of my research interest in access to identity-papers, he held an unofficial speech to the crowd. He stated that no person could be illegal, and that therefore, the Dominican Republic was violating their human rights when they left people to live without an official identity. The Haitian nationals who were living in the Dominican Republic, he claimed, had an equal right to Dominican citizenship because they did not have identity-papers. The whole crowd agreed to this notion, and all of the people without identity-papers, whether Haitian or Dominican born, agreed that the international human rights guaranteed them all Dominican citizenship.

It is clear from the ethnographic case above that a discourse on Human rights presents itself when the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero discuss access to official identity-

papers. The discourse presented by Mosctha on the basic human right to a citizenship has been taken by the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero to mean a right to citizenship where you actually live your life. I will argue that this rights discourse extends to ideas about the right to better standard of living, and that this connection between a rights discourse and social improvements is one of the reasons why the majority of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero do not contribute to social change when initiated by the non-profit organizations.

Bateye Guarero residents rarely talk about the contributions made by non-profit organizations to the improvement of the standard of living in the community. Despite my many long conversations with people in the bateye about the various organization that work there, not one person mentioned to me that Servicio Social de Iglesias Dominicanas (SSID) had installed an automatic water pump in the community only two months before my arrival. The automatic water pump ensured that most people could get water from taps placed relatively close to their home, which drastically altered the daily rhythm of bateye life. It was the American volunteer, John, who explained to me that until two months ago, all the women in the bateye had stood in line for hours to gather water from the one manual pump situated in the middle of the bateye community. When I later asked people about this large social change, they simply smiled and said, "yes, it was dreary before". Many people did not even remember which organization had brought the automatic water pump.

This general nonchalant attitude towards the non-profit organizations is also expressed in practice. One such example revealed itself when the Peace Corps volunteer in the community was about to end his 2 years in the bateye. Everyone wanted him to stay and as a result he decided to help them reply for a follow up volunteer. He organized a meeting with the entire bateye community to discuss the application process. The day of the meeting, I accompanied him on a round of the bateye to remind each household of the meeting and ask if they would participate. Everyone said they would come and were very pleased at the idea of another volunteer in the bateye. At the meeting, only ten people showed up, all of whom already could be considered community leaders for their general involvement with all bateye initiatives. Because the community members themselves had to actually write the application letter, John asked for a few volunteers. Only two teenage girls said they would write the application, but they were in need of an

adult community member. Eventually, the volunteer was able to persuade one of his close personal friends to help them. Even though almost no one in Bateye Guarero invested in this initiative, they now have a new Peace Corps volunteer in their community.

The practical experience that the aid is received regardless of participation and the discourse of human rights combines to create the effect that inhabitants of Bateye Guarero wait for development rather than act for development[34]. The majority of the inhabitants are not participating in the non-profit initiatives for improvement, but all the while talk about which improvements should be next on the list. Like one of my neighbors said, "an organization should fix the road, it is so difficult to get into town". To my inquiry if this was not really the responsibility of the state, she simply shrugged. "With an organization, things get done".

This haphazard attitude towards the non-profit organizations is of course not shared by everyone in the bateye community. It is in this respect that Bateye Guarero has developed certain community leaders. Most of them are women, but a few men also participate actively with various initiatives. The ones who participate, naturally also receive more attention from the non-profit organizations. Even though these community leaders receive no pay to work as promoters (promotoras, exclusively women) for the organization, they nevertheless gain network ties and the status as a leader. It is these community leaders, and their family and friends who mostly show up and make use of the non-profit initiatives, such as Mosctha's bakery which will be discussed later in this chapter. Community leaders excerpt the power to make other women and men uncomfortable participating, and thereby gain better access to the resources provided by the non-profit organizations. For instance, two young women explained to me that they did not participate with Mosctha's bakery program anymore because the people who went there were so fake. The atmosphere would be friendly during the classes, but the second they left, the other women spoke ill of them and gossiped about them. They felt too uncomfortable to go there. This extra power of the community leaders is often simply added to existing higher socioeconomic position.

[34] It is worth noting that the Peace Corps volunteer that worked with youth was tackling this issue and refused to do anything that they did not participate in, help plan, and potentially would be willing to take over when he left. There were clear signs that the youth were inclined to show up and participate in much more of the non-profit initiatives than their parents and grandparents.

Growing socioeconomic differences between bateye inhabitants:

Pictures 1 & 2 (private photos): The first picture is the home of one relatively rich family: the latter is the barrack home of two families and one of the Pentecostal congregations (at the furthest end).

The growing difference in socioeconomic position between the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero is the second consequence of the end of sugarcane production. After the sugarcane production, the inhabitants of the bateye were also subject to competition on the labor market and housing market and thus some families were able to secure a much

better living than others. There is a significant gulf between the richest and poorest families in the community, and nothing is done to diminish these differences in the name of community spirit.

The families of Dominican descent were in a more favorable position when the sugarcane production shut down than most families of Haitian descent. They already owned pieces of land and had preferred access to CEA land to cultivate for a cash profit. Many managed to establish small businesses, such as the local food stores, *colmados,* and they were given the handful of local wage-earning jobs such as cleaners at the local school. In addition, families of Dominican descent had better social networks and often receive financial support from family members who work in other cities. When the level of income suddenly became completely diversified, as most of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero turned to subsistence farming for survival, I will argue that the community bond was weakened.

The previous chapter discussed the existence and importance of a strong community bond, based on the low access to resources and lack of family networks. As time has passed, the community of work migrants settled down and established families. Growing socioeconomic differences in Bateye Guarero has led to a shift in focus from the maintenance of the community bond to a focus on family values. Financial resources have become necessary to establish a high social status in the bateye community. It is mainly the elderly in Bateye Guarero who complain about this. They often reminisce about the time when bateye inhabitants would take care of each other. Some of the elderly claim that it is the new Pentecostal church communities that are responsible for ruining the perceived Catholic values of sharing and taking care of each other (see chapter 5 on the Pentecostal church community as a separate social network).

Most of the elderly claim that community values are faltering because the young are only interested in money. They will say of the young that "They only want easy work"[35] and "they prefer to be a parasite on their parent back than to pick up a machete"[36]. The disinterest of both the young and middle-aged to participate in

[35] "Sólo quieren trabajo fácil".
[36] "Prefieren ser parásito en la espalda de sus padres que grabar a la machete".

agriculture and the lack of available wage-work in the bateye community has led to a depopulation of the community.

Because most of the young and middle-aged inhabitants of Bateye Guarero intend or hope to leave the bateye community, family bonds are the ones most in need of nourishment, and they are prioritized. The ones who have left the bateye community only nourish the bond with family members, which produces higher levels of conflict and a disinterest in helping each other should they have to return in a time of personal crisis, such as unemployment, pregnancy and illness. Appearances of community bonds are still kept, along the lines of offering food for guests and showing up at each other's celebrations. The communal relationship is strained, and the everyday life of an orphaned young man serves to illustrate the boundaries of community ties and the difficult realities of life without close family members.

Johnny is an eighteen year old man who lost both his parents during his adolescent years. He was brought to Bateye Guarero by a family friend when he was a child because his family believed he would have more opportunities there. After some disagreements, Johnny was unable to continue residing with this family friend and has now lived alone for the past three years. He lives for free in an empty barrack room without electricity. The room has gaping holes in the walls and is falling apart. Although one of the local families with several children Johnny's age feed him regularly, his life is a constant struggle for social approval, inclusion and sometimes even for food.

The extent of this struggle became clear to me one day when Johnny accompanied me to the home of a family I visited often on the outskirts of Bateye Guarero. Upon our arrival I was greeted and invited to come in, whereas Johnny remained on the patio with some of the children of the house. I was served coffee and was engaged in conversation, but none of the adults spoke to Johnny. After a while I began to feel that the situation was uncomfortable, and excused myself to go join him on the patio. He joked with the children, and it was clear that they knew each other reasonably well. Johnny received sly looks from the mother of the family. When we were left alone for a while, Johnny explained that he was starving. We all knew that it would be lunch time soon, and that if we were still there, we would be served food (As was the custom for all visits during meal time). Circumstances necessitated my staying until after lunch, which rendered me

spectator to the family's many subtle attempts to get Johnny to leave. Every time one of Johnny's neighbors walked by they insisted that he go with them so he would have company home. They hinted by saying that they had to get ready, that it was going to get dark and that it was getting late. When the family finally had to eat, Johnny and I were served portions of rice and beans with a smile. Because Johnny has no family in Bateye Guarero, he experiences this on a daily basis.

The shift of focus from community ties to family bonds which was illustrated above must have been a necessary response to the poverty that washed over the community when the sugarcane production was stopped. Volunteers situated in bateye communities around the DR told me that Bateye Guarero and the neighboring communities were the most poverty-stricken they has seen in the Dominican Republic, and the organization SSID could inform me that Monte Plata was the second poorest province in the country. Malnutrition continues to be one of the aspects for which the community receives relief aid.

The following two sections of the chapter will show how consumption practices contest and encourage social inequalities based on "dominicanization" and that because of the social value of consumption, the younger generation and the middle-aged are making career choices that take them from Bateye Guarero. The last section of the chapter will briefly discuss the ramifications of depopulation as the bateye becomes an unsustainable "home-base".

Agency and the value of acts of consumption

In order to explain the importance of consumption practices and career choices, agency is a useful analytical concept. I work from Ahearn's definition of agency as "the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act" (2001:112) (see chapter one for details on the importance of the concept for this thesis).

Although this chapter attempts to outline an arena in which the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero have the potential for "agency of power", it is often the case that consumption practices fail to produce the desired effect and that career choices in reality

are much more limited than local dreams would indicate. Thus when agency is referred to in this chapter it is usually in the sense of instances of agency of intentions that have a possibility of becoming instances of agency of power. This is an analytical separation designed by Ortner to study the agency of intent and not only agency in cases where agents are capable of exerting influence on matters of power. Agency of intentions is defined as "a variety of culturally constituted desires, purposes and projects that emerge from and of course reproduce different socially constituted positions and subjectivites" (Ortner 2001:79). Likewise, Career choices are discussed, not by their likelihood of success, but rather as lifelong projects that might have a successful outcome, but that regardless inform people's actions. In this sense, with career choices I mean what Ortner defines as projects: "culturally constituted intentions, desires and goals" (Ortner 2006:151).

The desire among both the young and the middle-aged to create surplus is partially motivated by a desire for higher standard of living (see chapter 1 on living conditions), but must at the same time be connected to the social value of consumption. Chin explains, through her study of the consumption of poor, African- American children, that consumer culture is just as important in the lives of the poor as it is for the middle class (Chin 2001). She claims that contemporary consumption is a medium in which social inequalities are "formed, experienced, imposed and resisted" (Chin 2001:3). This chapter argues that consumption is an important arena for practices that contest and form the social inequality experienced in Bateye Guarero. Put differently, acquisition of consumer goods is a part of local agentive capacities to improve their social standing. This is done by expressing a self-identification as Dominican through consumption choices.

Sassatelli explains that all consumption of goods is linked to processes of value construction which have ramifications of cultural, social, economic and material kind (Sassatelli 2007: 39). Sassatelli claims that consumption contains both structure and agency, because commodities are produced in rigid ways by a system of production, yet "social actors elaborate the meanings and uses of goods, articulating their symbolic and material qualities with various degrees of reflexivity and in ways that are sometimes

functional to the reproduction of the existing structures of power, sometimes not" (Sassatelli 2007:109).

It is this local value construction the following ethnographic examples of consumption are meant to illustrate. Furthermore, this chapter focuses on agency in consumption practices at the expense of structural elements of Dominican consumer culture. The structural elements make themselves clear in the low accessibility to consumer goods locally and the substantially low incomes of local people at odds with a growing Dominican economy that elevates prices. These limitations ensure that consumption practices evolve around everyday goods and household appliances, yet despite this structural limitation, local practices have importance for dreams and goals.

The value construction in consumer practices in Bateye Guarero will be illustrated with three ethnographic examples and analyzed according to how in each case the practice contributes to forming or contesting social inequality.

The consumption of "luxury foods":

One Saturday during baking class with Mosctha (organization for Haitian laborers that built a bakery and is now giving classes), the women suddenly jumped up and started shouting frantically and pointing out the window. Wild laughter erupted from the older women, while the young ran out to check out the truck that has stopped by the main road. It sold pizza, for the high price of 50 RD per piece. 200 RD is common to pay monthly to rent a one-room barrack house. The whole community was gathered around the pizza truck, and the young women tried to charm boys into buying them a slice. This was the only time the pizza truck came during the five months I lived in Bateye Guarero, and due to the complete lack of ovens (exception being the new one in the bakery), pizza was never served privately in the bateye. Yet, despite people's fondness for the taste of pizza, much more was at stake this day than merely the taste of different food. To my surprise, quite a few people bought this really expensive pizza, and some families spent several hundred pesos on pizza that afternoon. The huge crowd around the pizza truck ensured that it would be known who bought the pizza and that this was a status-symbol.

Similar consumption occurs every Saturday night and Sunday afternoon when families frequent the local bar. One large beer is 100 RD at the local bar, and most men go there to drink every weekend. Thus for many, alcohol and other luxury drinks and foods make up the larger part of the monthly budget. In this context "luxury foods" is used to describe food with little nutritional value, consumed outside of mealtimes. Many families of course do not have the option of spending money on alcohol and luxury foods for fear of starvation. Yet the ones that do have some income tend to spend it on alcohol, candy and the occasional luxury that passes by the bateye, be that a pizza truck or the weekly clothes truck. It is significant that the families of Dominican descent have the best possibility of achieving symbolic capital because they have access to economic capital for consumption. Participation in consumption practices, therefore, becomes a "dominicanizing" practice within Bateye Guarero.

A similar pattern of consumption has been documented by Martínez in his study of an active Dominican sugarcane bateye. While he stresses that sensation-seeking is an essential explanation for consumption practices, the bateye inhabitants nevertheless evaluate each other on the basis of the capacity to consume and which consumer goods are chosen (Martínez 2007: 10). Limited space ensures that my analysis of consumption practices can only incorporate the social value of consumption and not the personal value of the sensations these consumer products provide. Both the capacity to consume and the choice of consumer goods is important for social status in Bateye Guarero, in resonance with the findings of Martínez. Additionally, I argue, these consumption practices allow for an expression of a self-identification as Dominican.

As the standard of living is not radically altered by the most common consumption practices, they should be analyzed in terms of their social value. Two social impacts occur at once when people buy the expensive pizza from the pizza truck. First, the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero establish their community as a place worth visiting for people who sell relatively expensive goods. A reputation as a community with possibilities for commerce could bring more available goods as well as possible wage-work employment (such as organizations that put up a bakery). Additionally it establishes the bateye as a community where people earn money and are not only agricultural laborers like they have been since the end of the sugarcane production. Many bateye

inhabitants lament the end of the sugarcane production most of all because the cash-market collapsed and nothing is sold in the bateye community any more.

Apart from this desire to raise the status of the community, differentiation between inhabitants of the community also occurs. As the community gathered around the pizza truck it was evident that everyone knew who could afford the pizza, and who could not. The consumption of this pizza allowed the inhabitants with a cash income to separate themselves from those in the community who did not. This separation is most distinctive between families of Dominican descent and the poorest families of Haitian descent. Given the attitudes of the young toward agriculture, this could also be understood as an act of separation from the lesser social status of subsistence farming. In this way, the consumption practices are used to contest the marginal position of the Bateye community. Yet at the same time it contributes to the existing formation of social inequality because it creates the same separation of the people without a cash income.

Consumption of "status" items:

Another example that serves to elucidate the importance of this symbolic capital is the choices of a middle-aged woman named Maria. Maria is one of the wealthiest women in Bateye Guarero as she owns the two largest *colmados* (food stores), has enough land to produce cacao for a surplus, and has a job cleaning the local school. After Maria had sold a large batch of *Bahia* (weed that gives red color to food) and thus earned several thousand pesos, she decided to put a down payment on a refrigerator for her house. Her store already had a freezer should she need it, but she had long desired a fridge for her home. The large, white fridge was brought on the back of a truck from the village, and several men from the bar had to help Maria carry it indoors with unnecessary fuss and difficulty. This ensured that everyone saw the fridge arrive. To further show off the fridge, it was not put up in the kitchen but rather in the living room, right beneath the television that was mounted high on the wall. Maria tied a white towel over the handle of the fridge so it would not get dirty and worn out. For the rest of the time I was there I

seldom saw the fridge contain anything but iced water in a container, and half of the time there was no electricity.

In terms of standard of living, the fridge did not change Maria's home. There is very limited access to meat and dairy products that would be kept in a fridge and it did as such hold little practical purpose. Maria also describes herself as poor and she has eight children and several grandchildren who could use financial assistance. Maria is not the only one in the bateye who owns a fridge, although there are not many of them. Inhabitants of Bateye Guarero are perhaps inspired by the beautiful homes on television when they purchase such household items. Whatever the personal motivation, the value construction is just as important as in the example of the pizza truck. As the people who buy fridges attempt to contest their social standing as marginal and poor, they are simultaneously enhancing the social inequality by spending their hard earned money on something which does not raise their standard of living.

Thus, one might say that the consumption practice fails to produce the desired effect because their standard of living only appears to be higher and the ones who can afford a fridge in most cases have already established themselves as people with strong symbolic capital in bateye life. This focus on consumption practices to create social status might be one of the factors in the changes in career choice seen among the young. Both the young and the middle-aged desire more consumer goods than can be bought without a cash-income, but due to different circumstances, the middle-aged and the young have different career choices or life projects. The following section will discuss possibilities for cash income in Bateye Guarero. To further understand the desire and necessity of consumption, four career choices among the young will be exemplified.

Career choices: possibilities and personal reasons

This part of the chapter will present the career choices or life projects of the middle-aged and young, who unlike the elderly do not wish to spend their life doing subsistence farming. While the elderly continue to pursue subsistence farming, the young would rather stay unemployed because they are only interested in work that creates a cash

surplus, which is unattainable with the available land to farm. The situation is reminiscent of ethnography by Wilk (2006) in his article "The young men don't want to farm anymore". The farmers from Belize in Wilk's study tended to choose cash crops or commerce as their career choice. The same would be true of the young in Bateye Guarero, except there is almost no possibility of creating a cash surplus or finding wage-work in the community. Interestingly, the young and middle-aged that were unable to leave the community chose unemployment over subsistence farming.

The middle-aged have often spent several years working in the capital, and almost all the women have at some point worked at a "casafamilia", as a housemaid. Many of the people they grew up with in Bateye Guarero are now living in the capital because they were successful in obtaining an education or keeping their wage-work long enough to be able to support raising children in the capital. The middle-aged men and women who live in the bateye came back either because they did not like the work they had in the capital, or because family obligations such as having children or taking care of the elderly convinced them to return to the community.

Even though the majority of the middle-aged have now given up on finding new wage-work in cities, they have not for the large part entered the agricultural subsistence farming of their parents. In fact, many have simply remained unemployed, only occasionally working with their family on the plot of land, or sporadically getting hired for a day of agricultural labor. A popular trait for the middle-aged men has been to buy a motorcycle with monthly down-payments and start working as a *taxista* (a motorcycle taxi). Given the high gas-price and the low taxi fare (70 pesos per ride) the surplus is not substantial, especially the first few years when they are still paying off the loan on the motorcycle. Many of the middle-aged women, however, have started working closely with the organization Mosctha, as they appear to present one of few cases in which there is a possibility of making money without leaving Bateye Guarero.

Mosctha and the middle-aged:

Mosctha (the socio-cultural movement for Haitian workers) is a non-profit organization originally created by Haitian laborers to provide healthcare to Haitian workers in the sugarcane fields of the Dominican Republic (bateyes). Since its creation in 1985 it has expanded to include communities both in the DR and in Haiti that are underrepresented and marginal[37]. Their programs around the country have been introduced in chapter 1.

In Bateye Guarero, Mosctha has given out loans to a local women's group, which unfortunately is now at a stand still because several women were unable to pay back the loan, and no more will be given until the entire sum is repaid. Most recently, the organization has built a bakery that was a finished building when I arrived in January 2013. The interiors were not in place when I arrived, nor when I left five months later. In coordination with another non-profit organization, baking equipment was given to the bakery and a weekly baking class was held throughout my fieldwork. The baking class held every Saturday was open to all women in the community but was mostly attended by the members of the women's association (savings and loans group) created with the assistance of Mosctha. The women's association was also given a shorter jewelry-making class by the same organization every Tuesday.

The women's association has between 20 and 30 active members between the ages of 30 and 60. Apart from the future prospect of running the bakery, the women make and sell jewelry, scented candles and recycled paper cards. The women who participate in this association do so with the hope of generating a cash income without having to leave Batey Guarero. The jewelry, candles and cards are made during the fall in order to sell it to a group of Canadian high-school students who come every February. The Canadian teens are only in the community one day, half of which is spent painting houses and the rest of which is spent seeing the community and purchasing all of the products of the women's association. This February the women's group earned 16. 000 pesos for their work, yet dived by 25, no more than 640 Dominican pesos is left for each woman. As this only occurs once a year, and possibilities of selling their plastic jewelry in other settings is slim, the main goal is to start a functioning bakery. This chapter has indicated that

[37] http://www.mosctha.org/

consumption practices in Bateye Guarero centers around luxury foods, and a certain amount of income could be made from selling cakes and bread that is made in the only existing oven in the community. Yet due to the large number of women involved, the only hope for a sustainable business is that once news of the bakery travels, people will choose to drive by the bateye on their way to the capital or other nearby cities, as few bakeries exist in the DR.

The women's association, savings and loans groups and the bakery represent a possibility for cash incomes for a larger amount of women in Bateye Guarero, and has therefore become the center point of many of the career choices of the middle-aged in the community.

"There is no life here": career choices among the young

The young in the age group of between 18 and 25 are mostly absent from bateye life. Most have left to work or study in cities or in the Capital, which meant that my only informants in this age-group had either established their own family or were without identity papers which made it more difficult for them to obtain a job. There were also a group of young men, referred to as *tigueres*, who hung out at the bar drinking and playing dominos or billiards. As it was inappropriate for me as a young woman to participate in their activities, they did not become my informants, and consequently this section is exemplified by a single mother and three young Haitian men who had been living in the bateye for quite some time.

Aleksandria

Aleksandria, the 22 year old mother of one of the few babies in the bateye has big dreams. She had finished four semesters of medical school in the capital when she "turned out pregnant"[38], as she put it. She had worked in a supermarket store, earning 10 000 RD monthly, more than any jobs would pay in the bateye. The father of the child does not want to help or acknowledge his son, and because she could not afford day-care,

[38] "salió embarazada".

she had to move back to the bateye. On the brink of desperation, unable to pay the 200 RD rent or find money to buy food and diapers for her son, she is looking for any job, anywhere. Her grandparents and sometimes her neighbors are the ones who provide her with food. Now that her son is almost ten months old, she thinks he would be old enough to stay with her grandparents while she works in the capital, if she could only find a job.

Aleksandria would always repeat to me that "there is no life here"[39]. She spends her days waiting for a job to turn up, taking any small job she can, cutting cacao in the fields or braiding women's hair. She dreams of going back to medical school, and has a new boyfriend in the capital that sometimes helps her pay for the bus-ride to visit him. When I would greet her with the usual "*que lo que*", she would throw me a small smile, and reply "waiting" (esperando). As a reference point, the middle-aged or elderly would often reply with "working" or "fighting" (trabajando, luchando).

Aleksandria is worried that her son will grow up in the same living conditions she did. She is afraid that he will never own toys, receive proper education, or decent health care if he gets sick. Aleksandria is focused simultaneously on herself and her son when she intends, paradoxically, to leave him in the bateye in order to find wage-work and send him money. Aleksandria would pick a career path that would take her away from Bateye Guarero because she wants her son to have the best possibilities in life, and for that she needs money. She hates not being able to buy him toys, or let him grow up in a proper home with plumbing and nice furniture. Aleksandria's personal reason to participate in consumer culture is mainly for the safety and prosperity of her son and for them to live in their dream home.

Johnny

Johnny, the young man discussed earlier in this chapter, came over one Monday evening and sat down on my doorstep, as he usually did. He was positively glowing, as he exclaimed "I am moving to the capital!" I was quite surprised and asked him how he planned to survive there. A woman who lived in the nearby town was going to take him. Attempting to answer at once the many questions I had, he simply stated that he would be looking after her children while she worked, and help her around the house. He knew that

[39] "no hay vida aquí".

I had wondered whether this woman was one of the people he flirted with constantly on his phone[40] and he knew that I was relieved that it was not. Although he hoped he would secure a job once there, he too, realized that leaving for the Capital without housing or food would never work out. He was packed and ready, awaiting her call. During the following several months, this conversation was repeated and his hope never faltered, but he did not leave during my time in Bateye Guarero.

In addition to his dream of moving away from Bateye Guarero, Johnny is preoccupied with securing Dominican identity papers. He does not have his Haitian identity papers and does not want them. He convinced a woman to declare him as her child as a personal favor, but this process is painstakingly long and never commenced to my knowledge. Because of his marginal position in Bateye Guarero as orphaned, Johnny is very concerned with accumulation of status in the bateye. Johnny's clothes are always clean and neat, and he confessed to me several times that he wishes he had money to buy fashionable clothes. When I asked him what he desired the most, he replied "*unos tennis*" (sneakers) that would replace his worn out slippers. I once gave Johnny a fedora hat that my step-father had left behind on his visit. Nobody in Bateye Guarero ever wore hats that were not baseball caps, but he wore this fedora hat every evening, and posted four new profile pictures of himself wearing it to his facebook page.

To a person like Johnny, who desperately wants to leave the bateye, and therefore has substantial contact with people outside the community, mostly through facebook (internet is available in the neighboring village) and the previously mentioned free text message program, appearance is believed to be a major factor for success. It is assumed that looking presentable makes it more likely for someone to bring him with them to a city or the capital to live with them, and it makes it more likely for one of the women he chats with to want to live with him.

Samuel

Samuel is a young Haitian man who is a few years older than Johnny. For 10 000 pesos he was able to get a woman to declare him as her child, and therefore has a different Dominican identity. Samuel has a new name and family, and would never speak of his

[40] There is a free text message service that allows people who do not know each other to chat for free.

old Haitian identity openly, but everyone knows that he was brought from Haiti by his brother at age 14. Because of this, Samuel is now 23 years old, and about to finish his high school education in the nearest town.

Samuel came knocking on my door the minute he heard there was an "American" in the bateye. He wanted to practice his English, a project he had started with a volunteer in the neighboring community. Although he could not speak in full sentences, nor understand a conversation held between two English-speakers, he was by far the best English speaker in the bateye.

Samuel does not like the Dominican Republic, because he claims, it is racist. He wants to go to "otro mundo" (another world), by which he means any western country (the newest fascination became Norway). He is studying hard because he does not want just any job, he wants to use his mind and go to University to study languages. It will be difficult for him to afford to study because he would need either to pay the expensive rent in a city, or the expensive bus tickets back and forth. His project is to study and learn languages so he can earn enough money in the DR to move to another country where he can marry and live without racism.

Samuel is afraid that he left his family behind in Haiti to live in poverty in this country he does not like. He wants to leave not only Bateye Guarero, but also the Dominican Republic, yet he is patient. He thinks he could achieve moving to the US or Europe is he could only pay for his education. Samuel represents an ongoing trend in Bateye Guarero among the young to use education as a "ticket out", either to the capital or to other countries. Education is indeed valuable in order to obtain an official job in the capital, yet a large amount of resources are necessary to pay for university, living in the capital or transportation back and forth.

Ricardo

I was sitting on the patio in front of John's house the first time I met Ricardo. Within seconds of his arrival the conversation had suddenly turned to God, and I did not understand how. We had been casually talking about the local school just minutes before. Ricardo was reading me Bible verses and said he was delighted to meet someone who was interested in learning more about God. John (the volunteer) was amused at the

situation I had unwittingly gotten myself into, and explained to me in English that I had to be careful not to mention anything that could relate to religion in front of Ricardo, if I did not wish to spend the whole evening talking about the Bible.

Ricardo is a young man who came over from Haiti alone at 18, seeking work. He did not have any relatives in the Dominican Republic and did not know a word of Spanish. He resided for a few months in a border town where he was welcomed into a Pentecostal church community, and he learned Spanish through reading the Bible and participating in sermons. He had met a man from Bateye Guarero and had accompanied him to the community in hopes of working with the Haitian Pentecostal church where they needed someone to hold sermons in French Creole. Ricardo has a large family back in Haiti, and he hopes to earn enough money to help them monthly. His five siblings are struggling to survive on the low income of his father alone.

Ricardo now takes on small jobs in the field, but mostly spends his time reading the Bible and attempting to convert people. He often stands on a hill-top overlooking the bateye and preaches loudly while others continue with their business. Ricardo's dream is to go abroad with the church to preach, and he insisted I give him my Norwegian contact information should he make it to Norway. Just like many young, Dominican born bateye inhabitants, Ricardo finds meaning and career prospects in church. Yet, should he not manage to move from Bateye Guarero through his service to God, Ricardo also has a dream of becoming a professional singer. He loves to sing, but only religious songs now that he is with the Pentecostal church, and would gladly pursue this career path if he had any contacts in the music business.

Ricardo is one of the young people in Bateye Guarero who does not insist on leaving the bateye. He wants to leave, to see the world and to earn money for his family, but he is content to stay in the bateye for as long as necessary. Ricardo is not alone among the young in his devotion to the church. Many of the young men and women who have stayed behind participate and organize church activities, often on a daily basis.

Social ramifications and the Bateye as a home base:

This chapter has addressed the changes currently taking place in Bateye Guarero, and their connection to consumer culture and career choices. Depopulation and consumption practices are changing the social organization of the bateye by diminishing the role of community spirit and strengthening the role of the nuclear family. The second social ramification of the career choices of the young is that Bateye Guarero functions as a "home base". Due to the close proximity of the Bateye to the Capital Santo Domingo, many of the young and middle-aged inhabitants of Bateye Guarero leave for the capital only to return when they need assistance from family. The reasons for coming back are as varied as the reasons for leaving. Some come back to avoid the police after criminal activity in the Capital, some to have a baby, others because they lost their job. Bateye Guarero is a place where housing is next to free and where community members and family will provide food for each other.

The question remains, how long is the bateye sustainable as a "home base"? Once the elderly pass away, it is possible that not enough people will live in Bateye Guarero to produce enough food for those who don't participate in agricultural labor. It is possible also that rights to land might be lost should the locals stop fighting for them (see chapter 4 on the farmers union). The worst case scenario is a potential negative spiral, where those who depend on Bateye Guarero as a home base during for instance seasonal wage-work, during pregnancy or for grandparents to raise the children, will have fewer options. Perhaps they will then not be able to spend any time in the capital working, and when they return to Bateye Guarero, much of the state and NGO initiative would be lost due to the massive depopulation. The strong point of Bateye Guarero is its health-clinic, bakery, library and local school, all of which stand the danger of being shut down if there are not enough people living in the bateye.

The survival and growth of Bateye Guarero depends on strong local figures to fight for rights against the state (see chapter 2 and 4), and take initiative to help organizations such as Mosctha to expand their aid programs in the bateye community. What then, could influence the career choices of the young to change, and incline them to stay in Bateye Guarero? The immediate response to this question among the locals is

more available employment close to the community. Many dream of a factory being set up close by (there is a cacao-factory but it does not employ anyone from a bateye community) or better roads with a bus-line allowing for cheaper and faster transportation.

The bakery set up by Mosctha is one step in this direction, and might give grounds for hope, as it has among the middle-aged in Bateye Guarero. Future NGO initiatives of this kind could have a strong influence on the career choices among the young. Another incentive to live in the community is set by the Pentecostal churches (see more on Pentecostal churches in chapter 5). Like Ricardo, who devotes his time to church, so too do many other young community members. As shall be illustrated in the following chapter, the Pentecostal churches present an arena for personal fulfillment and expression, which speaks to the young. Together, the Pentecostal movement and the growing initiatives of the non-profit organizations might be the most influential in convincing the young to stay in Bateye Guarero.

This chapter has discussed how the social organization of Bateye Guarero is changing due to participation in consumer culture and the resulting career choices. It has been argued that consumption is an important element in contesting and reinforcing social inequalities in the community. Disparity in levels of economic and symbolic capital between nuclear families has encouraged family values rather than nourished the community bond. Furthermore, the ramifications of the career choices of the young have been discussed, as it leaves the bateye community vulnerable and unsustainable. As a concluding remark, it is deemed possible that the Pentecostal churches and the non-profit organizations might inform the career choices of the young.

Chapter 4

The Farmers Union: Resources and Symbolic Capital in encounters with the State

This chapter will show what resources the Farmers Union is capable of mobilizing in a land dispute struggle with the state and other actors. It will discuss the importance of contesting state population categorization. The Farmers Union attempts to assert a group identification as Dominican farmers, in place of the marginal category of Haitian immigrant which the state uses to refer to their bateye community. Jenkins' idea of studying power through efficacy will be used to discuss and analyze the resources of the Farmers Union in their opposition to the other actors and the state institutions involved in the land dispute. To further analyze the access to resources by the members of the union and its relevance in the negotiation over rights to the land, Bourdieu's various forms of capital will be applied as analytical distinctions: economic, social, symbolic and cultural. It will be argued that the amount of social and symbolic capital possessed by the members of the Farmers Union allows for their self- identification as Dominican Farmers to be legitimated by the state bureaucracy. Further argumentation will suggest that it is their lack of cultural capital, in the sense of formal education and knowledge of the legal system, as well as the larger proportion of symbolic capital possessed by the other actors involved in the land dispute, that leads to the stagnation of their case.

The chapter will be structured into three parts, each starting with ethnographic material from Union meetings or practices. The first part will provide the background story of the Farmers Union through an interview with a senior member. A discussion about the process of categorization and identification occurring in the local community will lead to a discussion about the significance of the union members' socioeconomic background and their relatively easier access to resources compared to other bateye residents. The second part will depict a roadblock organized by the union, and a video that was made in relation to it. The ethnographic material will be used to analyze the

rhetorical tactics of the Farmers Union and how it is influenced by NGO produced discourses on human rights. The NGO influence and lack of participation in the land dispute will further be analyzed by focus on its consequences on the efficacy of the Farmers Union in their attempt to claim legal rights to the land, and assert a group identity as Dominican farmers. The third part of the chapter will present the court proceedings of the land dispute, in order to view the agentive practices employed by the union members when encountering the state bureaucracy. It will further illustrate the images of the state as expressed by the Farmers Union, where their benign view of the top political leaders is contrasted by high levels of local corruption. Ethnographic material by Nuijten (2004) and Gupta (1995) will be used to assist an analysis of the importance of performative competence, or cultural capital, in dealing with a bureaucracy largely colored by corruption and "messy labyrinthine" (Nuijten 2004:217) practices.

The Farmers Union: the case and the significance of the socioeconomic background of its members

Due to the relative complexity of the land dispute case, it is convenient to begin this chapter where my fieldwork left off: with the interview of one of the senior members of the Farmers Union. Despite several months of participation in union activity, during which time many attempts were made to obtain the full story and background of the dispute, I was nonetheless forced to have a sit-down, structured interview with sixty-five year old Leonel in order to obtain a comprehensive and consistent story. Too many actors and speculations were involved in the case for there ever to be a simple linear explanation of events when the farmers were asked, which makes the information from the interview setting slightly unnatural in its presentation and content. Even so, the interview was scheduled as a response to my uncertainty about the cohesion of the different elements of the background story, as expressed during a union meeting. Leonel was put in charge of making sure the anthropology student who was to write about their experiences fully understood the situation, which suggests acknowledgement of the perspective and knowledge of Leonel on the part of the Union.

And so it came to be that I set out to meet Leonel for an interview where we distanced ourselves from his domino-playing family members in unusual fashion and sat separately on our plastic chairs in order to produce the background story which I now present and base this chapter upon.

The land area that the union is fighting for was originally two separate areas. Both land areas belong to CEA (State sugarcane consortium, Consejo Estatal del Azúcar). One part used to be a sugarcane field, which the farmers have cultivated for 20 years with alleged knowledge and approval of CEA, ever since the starting decline of the sugarcane production. The other part of the land was used for cows and oxen both during the sugarcane cultivation and afterwards. The Farmers Union first had an argument with CEA ten years ago when CEA removed the fences surrounding the cattle area, allowing for the cows and oxen to ruin the crops the farmers were cultivating on the other land. The farmers had then occupied area two and driven the cattle away. This had not resulted in punitive action from the State Sugarcane Consortium, and Leonel did not seem to think that it would be natural if it had. The farmers had simply gone to CEA and asked to buy the land, to which the CEA had replied that they would not be selling the land to anyone, yet all the same gave them permission to cultivate it. There exists no official document confirming this permission was given and it is uncertain whether there exists an official account of the incident in CEA archives, which would prove that the state was aware of the Union's decade long cultivation of the land (an element in current state agricultural politics, where there is a debate to delegate state land to farmers who have cultivated it for longer than 10 years).

The farmers cultivated the land undisturbed until last year, when the current problems arose. It can be expected that the Farmers Union as it is today also came into existence at this time, albeit they themselves do not see a clear distinction between the group of farmers who have been helping each other cultivate land for a decade, and this new farmers association consisting of the same group of people. About a year ago, two rich men claimed to have bought the land, and even though there is no official document proving this purchase, the case is being tried in the local Court of Justice in the Province. The CEA admits to having sold the men 300 *tarea* (approximately 628 m2) whereas the two men claim to have bought 2200 *tarea*. This case was on trial in February 2013, the

first time I accompanied the Farmers Union to the Palace of Justice. The court proceedings will be discussed later in the chapter. The men who claim to have bought the land won the case in the local court and the appeal has sent the case to the higher judicial branch in Santo Domingo, where the case is still pending. The farmers are certain the men won the first round in the local court "with the power of money"[41].

Even though the court proceedings are not yet over, the buyers, *compradores* as they are referred to, took the local court's ruling as an incentive to take charge of the land by means of covertly destroying the farmer's crops. The rich *compradores* had hired someone to come by night and steel the products they can carry and destroy the rest. After a period of time when the farmers had re-sowed their land, they heard rumors that *delinquentes* (paid criminals) were going to come back to destroy crops. For this reason they established a roadblock, gathering their strength to protect their land. The rich *compradores* responded to this action by mobilizing police and military forces to remove the roadblock and destroy everything the farmers had cultivated. They showed up with 40 police officers from the nearest small town, including the highest ranking police officer, the *mayor*. They had fired guns in the air somewhat towards them and had thrown "bombas" (tear gas container) to make them scatter as the large tractors tore apart the roadblock and continued to destroy the fields.

This had happened during *Semana Santa* (Easter) and the Union had subsequently gathered a small commission from the Farmers Union to go to the *Palacio de la Policía Nacional* (National headquarters of the police force), where they had been welcomed and listened to, with the resulting message to local police from higher authority that this interference was to end immediately. As for their involvement in the first place, the farmers assume the police was bribed. The local police force followed the order from their superiors in the capital and the farmers were once more left to sow their fields.

The rich *compradores* then turned to *tigueres* (here bad men[42]) and hired 40-50 of them from the surrounding communities, some of whom the farmers knew, to destroy the crops. The *tigueres* hijacked the house the farmers used to gather in, which is a storage

[41] "por poder de dinero".
[42] See Krohn-Hansen (2001:65) for detailed description of *tigueres*.

building that was used during the sugarcane era, situated perfectly between all the fields of the area. There they continue stand guard for the *compradores*.

During this situation, an incident occurred that what was to evolve into a large side-case. One of the cacao-farmers had been to sell his cacao to the local factory when he was suddenly violently robbed close to his land area. The *tigueres* had put on masks before violently attacking the man, but he nonetheless knew who they were, and he had witnesses to the violence. This has resulted in a parallel court case, often causing some amount of confusion with the farmers as they find it difficult to separate this case from the land rights case even though the justice system is treating the cases separately. The rich *compradores* offered the victim 100 000 pesos to withdraw the case or not show up to court. More than once the victim has been called upon by the Court to come for meetings where they try to negotiate a settlement with him, but they have so far not succeeded.

With the escalating violence the situation turned intolerable for the Farmers Union and they put together a commission that was to go to the Presidential Palace to attempt to address the President on their issue, when the farmers caught a lucky break. The President happened to be visiting the cacao-factory in the neighboring bateye, and they sought him out. It is worth noting that the President was not visiting the neighboring bateye, but solely the cacao-factory which buys cacao from many communities in the province that are not bateyes, and the event was in relation to an American organization's large donation to micro-finance projects for cacao-production. I can not know how the representatives of the Farmers Union presented their case to the President, but he did astonishingly enough listen and act. He ordered a minister of CEA, Enrique Martínez to work with a minister from the Dominican Agrarian Istitute (IAD: Instituto Agrario Dominicano), to resolve the issue. They were still in a supposed process of negotiation when my fieldwork came to an end in July 2013, and the Farmers Union had not heard back from their contact person, the Senator of the Province, who was following the negotiations closely. I was supposed to attend some of these meetings with the Union leadership, yet all of them were postponed.

It must be specified that this is the story according to Leonel who was chosen by the Union to represent their case. Although Leonel mainly presented the part of the land

dispute against rich people who claim to have bought the land, there are also rumors that the State through CEA wishes to sell the land, and the lawyer who represents the Union mainly focuses on winning the case by claiming that it is unconstitutional to sell any part of the land that has been cultivated by the people as their only source of income.

Negotiating social identification: mobilization of available resources:

In order to understand the tactics and aim of the Farmers Union, it is necessary to include remarks on the wider political background that is the basis for this land dispute (See chapter 2 for further details). The Farmers Union consists of members who for the most part live in bateyes, which are stigmatized and politically marginal communities. The anti-Haitian discourse of the Dominican state has been illustrated amply (Ferguson 2003, Howard 2001 & 2007, Krohn-Hansen 2001, Moseley-Williams & Wooding 2001),and as seen in chapter 2, bateyes and its inhabitants are categorized as Haitian. It is presumed, therefore, that "Haitian" is a categorization that the Farmers Union meets in interaction with the state bureaucracy, and that this categorization comes with a social stigma which the Farmers Union needs to disassociate itself from when attempting to gain legal rights to state land.

Land disputes are a rather common theme in anthropology (Gupta 1995, Nuijten 2004, Samson 2001, Ramos 2002) but what complicates this case is the definition of what categories of people and actors are involved. This chapter argues that in light of recent political developments in the Dominican Republic, this struggle for land rights by inhabitants of a bateye cannot be separated from the ongoing process of identification of its members, because the result of this identification may ultimately lead to a loss of citizenship. In September 2013, after this fieldwork was conducted, a constitutional reading assessed that all Dominicans declared by parents who could not prove legal residency in the country dating back to 1929, would have their right to citizenship reevaluated, and those who were declared by people "in transit" would not qualify for citizenship (See chapter 2). Many of the members of the Farmers Union might be affected by this new Constitutional ruling on the interpretation of the citizenship law,

although the concrete measures taken by the Dominican government and their consequences remain to be seen.

Although the members of the Farmers Union reject the state's categorization of them as Haitian, as Jenkins points out "the rejected external definition is still internalized, but paradoxically, as a focus of denial" (Jenkins 2000:21). Jenkins further explains that all identities, collective or individual, are created in a process of the internal-external dialectic of identification (Jenkins 1996:20). The categorization by the State and the self-identification of the members of the Farmers Union occur simultaneously, and to speak of the consequences of the ongoing process of identification, involves, as Jenkins puts it, "a question of whose definition counts" (Jenkins 1996:23).

How the Farmers Union is able to influence the State and civil societies' categorization of its members, must be viewed in light of the specific socioeconomic background of the members, as well as the resources and symbolic capital available to the them, and thus, the Union. The answer to why the Dominican State seems to accept the Union's group identity as Dominican Farmers might be found in the differences between the members of the Farmers Union and other bateye residents.

The differences between the Union members and other bateye residents are clearest in access to resources and accumulation of various kinds of capital, such as Bourdieu's economic capital, social capital: network and valuable social relations, symbolic capital: recognized social prestige and cultural capital: accumulation of valuable knowledge (Bourdieu 1991). In order to analyze how the Union members have used these forms of capital in their negotiation with the State over land right it is helpful to introduce Jenkins' view of the relationship between resources and power. Jenkins (2009) argues that the most profitable way to analyze power is found in the human capacity to act based on the resources available to them, because resources are always necessary to exercise power, or efficacy. Efficacy, the power to produce a desired affect, can be seen in the mobilization and management of resources (2009:147). The following discussion about the resources of the Farmers Union will be based on this concept of efficacy. The degree of efficacy will be analyzed in light of the amount of capital available to the Farmers Union but not other bateye inhabitants, and the amount of capital the Union possesses in relation to the other actors involved in the land dispute.

One distinction between the bateye residents who are Union members and those who are not, with significance to accumulation of various kinds of capital, is the high prevalence of Dominican ancestry among union members. As seen in chapter 3, the inhabitants of Dominican descent have higher levels of economic capital than other bateye residents. This has led to accumulation of symbolic capital by the inhabitants of Dominican descent: social prestige, status and the recognition of this by the other bateye residents (Bourdieu 1991:72). Most of these inhabitants of Dominican descent are members of the Farmers Union, along with Dominicans from villages that are not bateyes, and some bateye inhabitants of Haitian descent. Although there is no separation made among the group members with regard to ancestry, having Haitian heritage limits access to state resources in the Dominican Republic (see chapter 2).

All the members of the Farmers Union have more resources than bateye inhabitants who are not members, specifically in access to land which can be cultivated for a profit. The difference in economic capital between union members and most bateye inhabitants is vast. It appears that those people who already had a fund of symbolic capital, including social capital from a network of family members outside the bateye and higher positions within the sugarcane industry when it ended, also managed to exclusively cultivate the large land area now under dispute, which has provided them with the ability to produce surplus product for sale for over a decade.

Due to the large resources that were at stake when access to this land area became possible with the halt in the sugarcane industry, the explanation given by union members about how they separated the land between themselves is unconvincing. Union members claim that the land left unused when CEA ceased production was shared equally by those who wanted to cultivate it, which seems unlikely given the large unemployment rate and desire to find work and sources of income, as seen in chapter 3. Both the social and symbolic capital most likely factored into the settlement between the bateye inhabitants on who would get to use what land, although the land remained in the possession of CEA.

This economic capital of the members of the Farmers Union is converted into both social capital defined as valued relations with significant others (Jenkins 1992:85) and symbolic capital. If there is an event in the community, the Union members are almost always directly involved. Local celebrations are usually held at the bars which

they own, or organized by church communities which they are members of (except events held by the Pentecostal churches, see chapter 5). When organizations, both national and international come to the bateye with projects, Union members are most often involved in the organization of the projects. One such example is the women's group that Mosctha set up (see chapter 3). In addition, Union members often serve as the link, the *promotoras/es* , between these organizations or state institutions and the community by taking charge of the projects locally and being the primary contact person for the organization or institution. To sum up, many of the leading figures in the community are also members of the Farmers Union. As leading figures, they possess social capital not available to other bateye inhabitants, as they form relations with members of non-profit organizations and church communities, as well as state officials. This social and economic capital is indeed converted into symbolic capital within the bateye, but as we shall see later in this chapter, the symbolic capital of the Farmers Union is not quite legitimated by people outside the bateye community.

The strong economic, social and symbolic capital among the members of the Farmers Union, as well as their amount of members of Dominican ancestry, has most likely secured the degree of efficacy of the Union in its attempt to assert a group identity as Dominican farmers. The following part of the chapter will analyze the practices and rhetorical tactics of the union in their attempt to "dominicanize" their claim to state owned land. How the efficacy of the union is affected by the stronger cultural and symbolic capital of the other actors involved in the land dispute will also be discussed under the illustration of the court proceedings.

The roadblock meeting: the making of a video

When the land-conflict intensified with growing threats of "violence against the land"[43], the Farmers Union set up a roadblock to protest the situation. They indeed wished to prevent the crops from being ruined, but the roadblock was simultaneously a political protest. The farmers wanted attention to their cause and attempted to get it by blocking

[43] "Violencia contra la tierra".

off people's entrance to the land, hanging up posters with political slogans and using the symbol of burning tires to show civil unrest. It can be seen from the following debate that despite their anger at the destruction of their crops, their goal continued to be drawing the attention of the public, instead of attempting to win the case by force, as many of the members did not believe that they would succeed.

Picture 3: Photo credit: Simon Hovland. The several day long roadblock with continuous burning of tires to signal civil unrest.

Picture 4 (private photo): The protest sign: "Competent Authorities: Don't make yourselves blind to our hardships, or deaf to our cries. Because then you might be opening the door to a battlefield. .

During the roadblock the union still held their meetings, which were becoming even more heated as the threat of violence had grown. The utterances of the old member Paulo illustrates this as he claimed "The authorities in Monte Plata don't value our lives, and they don't care if they have to shoot us dead to take this land for them (supposed buyers)[44]". Paolo was agitated as he held his speech to the crowd, with the sentiment of anger more prominent than fear. He urged the others that something had to be done immediately and that they should go see the President the next day. The crowd respected this man, but only about half cheered him on, the rest produced a sigh at this extreme course of action.

The man who got the word next was a local school teacher and farmer who insisted that they should all calm down and come to a smarter solution. He claimed he would take the crowd to see the President the next day if anyone believed their appeal would be successful. They did not have the power, he explained, to take on the police or authorities, and therefore had to remain in their good favor. His advice for the group was to reach out to the media and people, locally and nationally. He stated that "The public opinion is the fourth power of the country! We will have the sympathy of the whole country[45]". This point of view received acknowledgement from the crowd, and the discussion turned to the lack of attention this roadblock had received and how something had to be done about it should their case stand a chance. The meeting ended in chaos as the members all spoke at the same time, arguing with each other about the best way to get further in this process of critical importance to them.

As the crowd spread out and the meeting seemed to take a natural break, many people had gone over to an ice-cream vendor who had just shown up on his motorcycle. Over an ice-cream I began to discuss the issue with Maria, one of five women in the group of about fifty who had showed up that day, and asked her if they had considered

[44] "¡Las autoridades de Monte Plata, no ponen valor a nuestras vidas y no les importan si nos matan para tener la tierra pa ellos!"
[45] "¡La opinión pública es el cuarto poder del país! Vamos a tener la simpatía de todo el país."

using the internet to gain publicity for their case. Maria, being a woman of close to sixty years of age, asked me to explain how that could be done. I told her that although there was no guarantee that anyone would take notice of their case, they were still at perfect liberty to write about it in different forums, use it to gain contact with organizations or broadcast videos or sound files. The leader of the group caught news of this idea within a few minutes time, and wanted to know if I could help them use the internet.

The Union's poor access to the internet and lack of equipment such as computers and cameras had ensured that they had not used the internet to spread their message previously, and could only do so with the help of someone outside the union. As I had my partner in the field with me, we agreed that he could help them if I was left completely out of the publicity process, due to the anonymity issue of my research[46]. The following ten minutes were the most efficient I have seen in bateye life. My partner was taken to our house to get his camera and at the roadblock a speech was written for the video that was about to be produced. It took them only ten minutes to agree on more or less what should be said in the video. The group went from heated discussions to well organized action, proving their ability to adapt quickly to changing circumstances and opportunities.

They chose to film the speech with their leader speaking to the camera and all of them in group behind him, holding their machetes in the air, with the scenery of the road block in the background, smoke filling the air behind them. I explained that a video of them in front of their roadblock could be seen as evidence of their illegal activity but they still held on to the road block as a symbol to the government that they were unhappy with the situation. The speech held in the video was as follows[47]:

> We are communicating to the whole country, all of the authorities of the Dominican Republic, but especially to the President, Danilo Media, to ask for interference in this situation that is occurring here in the land of Bateye Guarero, of the municipio *name* in the Province of Monte Plata. Here in this sector, a

[46] This might seem like anthropological advocacy to some. I share the opinion of Hastrup &Elsass that anthropological advocacy is a "contradiction in terms" (Hastrup &Elsass 1990:301), and attempted to exclude myself from the video-making, but nevertheless allowed my partner to help them. Personally, I do not believe that making suggestions to the Farmers Union about using certain visual aids in their work constitutes anthropological advocacy.

[47] My translation, original text in appendix. The part in italics is incoherent also in the original language.

group of farmers, men and women, have worked more than 30, 20, 15 and 10 years in these fields despite it being the territory of the State Sugarcane Consortium (Consejo Estatal del Azúcar), but the State Sugarcane Consortium knows very well that the people here in Bateye Guarero have worked on this land for more that 15, 20 years here in Bateye Guarero. After, the President of the Dominican Republic said that he supports all the farmers in the country and that he is going to give rights to the people that have worked for more than 10 years on the land that belongs to the State. We, speaking equally to the director of CEA and the rest of the authorities in the region and directly at the President Danilo Medina. *As you want I speak of that time when they were in the political process and after it was bound by mentioning the government has, I wish that we, he, come to help this community that belongs to the community of Bateye Guarero where we are* being evicted by an abuse of the power of retrieval by the CEA including the thieves, the attackers, at the level of the millionaire bringing the cheater to the land, and now they are occupying the land of a hundred farmers that belong to this community. Mister President, remember that us farmers only live off of that which we produce and the villages and the city of Santo Domingo maintain themselves based on the work of us farmers in the communities. And right now we are experiencing that they are laughingly abusing us, some supposed buyers, for instance Mrs *name* and other supposed buyers more that claim the land is theirs. We already have an average of more than ten years working on this land where we have Yuca, corn, banana, beans, pigeon peas, cacao and other products of high quality. And right now they are doing to us, this Monday, where a military contingent presented itself to support these, this, these charlatans, together with the people of the retrieval from the municipio and we are asking that we will not give up the land because it is not right that our family that we have to support, that we should leave them to die and remember that the villages benefit from us the farmers and what we cultivate there is for the whole country, it is not just for us farmers and nothing else. (Receives holsters from surrounding men and holds them up in front of the camera). These are the evidence from when, at nine in the morning on Monday the military contingent presented itself to support these people who supposedly bought the land, and however, these are the shots you can see here that they took at this group of farmers who really have the right to the land. Please, Mister President, Help us in our struggle for the land.

The rhetorical tactics of the Farmers Union:

The rhetorical tactics of the union reveal insightful information about the agentive capacities inherent in the presentation of their own case. It deserves notice that although they mention CEA and the name of their bateye, they do not use the existing discourse created by NGOs to assert their rights as Dominicans of Haitian descent. Given the NGO

human rights focus on recognition of black Haitian identity, briefly discussed in chapter 3, and the cultivation of that discourse in the neighboring bateye as we shall see exemplified in the next chapter, the claim of abuse against Haitians in the region could easily have been a main element in argumentation against the State's practices. Yet in spite of the awareness of discrimination as presented in chapter 2, the union chooses to distance itself from the category of Haitian and the discourses pertaining to that categorization, by actively emphasizing their identity as Dominican and as farmers. In line with Jenkins' assertion that the ends and means of efficacy are not always easily distinguished (Jenkins 2009:150), this is a case where the group identification as Dominican is both an end and a means. Bateye inhabitants in general, as well as in the Farmers Union, firmly believe that they are Dominican, yet they are well aware that much of Dominican society would not agree with them, and would label them Haitian immigrant. This results in conscious rhetorical and practical tactics on behalf of the union.

The last part of the speech was held to remind the President of the role of the farmer in a country, putting themselves alongside all other Dominican farmers and specifying their part in contributing to the national economy and food supply. By proving that they contribute to the national economy they attempt to distance themselves from the category "Haitian", whose main social stigma stems from believes that Haitians exploit the country and are lazy. Another tactic to further the legitimacy of their claim to Dominican state land is to raise the numbers. They assert in the video, as they always did, that they have more than a hundred members suffering from this land dispute. At meetings or other events I have never seen more than sixty people. The idea of making the group as large as possible is consistent with their practices, where in all public matters, such as court cases, everyone is encouraged to come along, and the Union provides a free truck to bring them there, as we shall see in the case of the court hearings.

If the farmers have spent more than 10 years cultivating the land they would fall under the alleged political promise from President Danilo Medina that state land would be ceded to those who have cultivated it for more than 10 years. It is quite likely that it has been ten years, but in the speech it is said that they have cultivated the land for more than 10, 15, 20 and 30 years. That would date the starting point of this cultivation back to

1983. Because of what we saw of the treatment of bateye inhabitants by the Sugarcane Company during production in chapter 2, it seems unlikely that many of the workers would be allowed to cultivate state-owned land at that time. This rhetoric is possibly part of a desire to separate themselves from the past power and control exercised over them by CEA. Their claim as Dominican farmers would be stronger if they could prove that they had cultivated the land quite independently of the operations of CEA, which would make them self-sustained farmers instead of ex-sugarcane cutters who began cultivating the land after CEA shut down.

The above case history indicates that the Farmers Union has a goal of disassociating themselves from "the Haitian issue", but also suggests how they attempt to do so. The most illustrative of these indications is the gym-teacher's assertion that "public opinion is the fourth power", and that they must reach the Dominican people with their case. The fact that the Union decided to make this video, and indeed had been debating ways of obtaining public attention, organizing the roadblock with the partial aim of doing so, suggests that this is their main tactic. Their other important tactic is to appeal to political power outside of the Province, convinced as they are that the root to their problems is corruption in the state bureaucracy locally, a point that shall be further elaborated in the discussion below of the image of the state.

The tactic of using the public opinion to further their case and the belief that their case will ensure people's sympathy, are notions that I argue stem from the presence of non-profit organizations and their "rights discourses". These rights discourses were briefly outlined in the previous chapter. The members have incorporated this discourse in the formation of the union, which can be seen through their presentation of their case in the aforementioned video.

The tactic of the farmer's union is based on the perception that once their situation and claim become known beyond a local audience, to political figures in the capital and to the Dominican people, their right to the land will be sympathized with and the issue will be solved. They use the "fourth power", that of the public opinion, for this reason, and they attempt to address the President in the same hopes. Apart from this tactic of referring to their rights as subsistence farmers which stems from interaction with NGOs

and appropriation of key elements of their rights discourses, there is little influence of NGOs in the practical organization of the union.

It is likely that the Farmers Union functions so well because its members acquired organizational skills from working with the various non-profit organizations in Bateye Guarero. As previously mentioned, many of the union members also function as *promotoras/es* for non-profit organizations. The meetings of the Farmers Union have great attendance and the leadership is locally anchored with representatives from the various bateye communities and Dominican *campos* (villages). This leads to efficient communication and swift decision-making. The democratic and inclusive social dynamic of the union has helped the farmers towards achieving its goal to gain legal rights to state land, and to assert an identity for themselves as Dominican farmers.

The lack of direct involvement from the non-profit organizations has, however, had certain negative consequences. The negative effects of the lack of involvement from the non-profit organizations in the land dispute mostly concern the amount of cultural capital the organizations could have contributed with. The Farmers Union has few members who know how to read and write longer texts, and no education on the juridical system in the country or the technical language used. This lack of cultural capital poses a major difficulty for the Farmers Union, especially in meeting with the State bureaucracy, but as we saw from the speech in the case above, also in communication with Dominican society (in this case the "fourth power"). A large part of the speech in the video contained incoherent sentences.

An additional consequence of the lack of involvement from non-profit organizations with the Farmers Union is the absence of media attention. The reason the local NGOs are not involved is due to the their perception that there is a difference in nature of this claim to land, to that of other rights, which are the basic human rights of education, health and citizenship. Mosctha did not assist in the case because the farmers do not have an obvious right to the land, and involvement in the cause might produce a different relationship with the state, moving from an activist organization for basic human rights, to an instrument of general politics over resources. The volunteer from Peace Corps who was living in the bateye for several years, forming strong bonds with people there, was not allowed by the organization to participate in activity that could be

construed as political, as the organization is funded by the North-American state, and political activism on the part of the volunteers could then hinder ties of diplomacy between the two countries.

Some of the rhetorical tactics used by the Union to "dominicanize" their case have been illustrated, as well as the social and symbolic capital they have used to legitimate this identification claim as Dominican Farmer. The next section of the chapter will introduce the court proceedings of the land dispute to analyze practices employed by the Union to further this Dominican farmer identification. It will be argued that the efficacy of this claim is somewhat limited due to a disparity in the way the members of the union imagine the state versus how the state apparatus and discourse functions at lower level bureaucracy, which I shall argue, is a disparity largely caused by lack of cultural capital in relation to the economically and symbolically more powerful agents from the Dominican town.

The court proceedings: cultural capital, corruption and negotiation of their place in Dominican society

In February I had the opportunity to attend a court case with the Farmers Union. The union provided two *guaguas* (open-decked trucks) to bring the large crowd to the court room. Many people went, including the farmers' children, neighbors and people who do not have a direct connection with the land dispute. The union paid for transportation in order to have a large group present at what was the final ruling of the local level Court in Monte Plata over whether the alleged buyers of the CEA land were to be given the landowning rights. At the time I was still living with a local middle-aged woman, and she prepared me for the event by suggesting I wear "covering" clothes, look clean and do something with my hair. She said it was very important that we all go and show our support for the farmers: that we were strong in numbers, and that this injustice was being exercised on a large number of people.

Upon our arrival, equally large numbers of people were pouring in from other communities and greeted by family and friends in a large social gathering. The mood was

optimistic and the crowd exchanged news with people they did not see too often. The men were approached by young boys with shoe-shining kits who were soon sent to work on making the old, dirty shoes spot-free. Almost all the men leaned elegantly against the wall, speaking to each other as the young boys worked on their shoes. The women had also dressed up for the occasion: in smart dark pants or skirts, with tops that always covered their shoulders. Most of the women had put their hair up in buns or clasps, not keeping it in the hairnet or braiding it as they usually would. The most remarkable change was the shoes, both for men and women, as the flip-flops and boots had been completely exchanged for dress-shoes or the nicest pair of sandals, for women.

Before our case had begun the court room had been filled to the brim, the guards insisting that the ones who could not sit or stand up against a wall had to wait outside: leaving half the crowd to stare in through the windows at the proceedings of this relatively small court room. The court proceedings took about two hours, much of which was in Spanish rather too technical for my understanding this early in my fieldwork experience. They called forward the parties of the case to explain their predicament, and some photos were evidently shown to the judge, although nobody else saw them as they were only in a paper document. After the Judge had made his final decision, he listed and talked through ten different laws and pronounced a decision which I did not understand. There seemed only to be a lot of confusion as we exited the court room, and when I asked others what the ruling had said I was told by some to wait for the group meeting, while others told me outright that they had not understood anything either.

Clustered on the steps of the Palace of Justice, the educated lawyer in the middle, he explained to the confused farmers that they had lost the case, as they knew they would, but that it was for the best, because now the real case could begin. The local Court did not have the authority to process cases that interpreted the content of the Constitution. As they had appealed the case, it would be brought to the higher justice in Santo Domingo, where the case would center on their constitutional right to the land. He stressed that the opposition “have seen our strength” and that once out of Monte Plata, their case would stand a much better chance.

During the last few weeks of my fieldwork, the farmers were once again to attend court meetings, but to the great confusion of many, not about the land dispute, but as eye-

witnesses in the case of violence against the cacao-farmer who had been beaten and robbed by the *tigueres* (bad men) standing guard. These *tigueres* had been successfully located and put to trial, but some unknown agents, thought of only as the rich *compradores* (buyers) were working behind the scenes to avert this court case.

When we arrived on the day of the hearing, we were told (or someone merely thought) that the Judge was late and nobody had received word, and we had to wait for him to show up. After several hours, an official employee at the Courthouse gathered us to inform us that there was nothing on the agenda that day about our case, and that we must have the dates mixed up. The hearing about the violence against the cacao-farmer was on the agenda for the following afternoon.

As usual, the farmers grouped up outside of the Courthouse to discuss the day's events and further tactics. There was speculation that the alleged *compradores* had lured them to the court in hopes of convincing the attacked man to back out of his law-suit. Furthermore they wanted the Union to waste its money on the transportation of people to the Court and to confuse them. The meeting focused on further strategy, and they decided that members who also had land somewhere else would be excluded from the list of farmers that had cultivated the land that was to be given to the court. They needed to stress their dependency on the land for survival in order to have a stronger case. In addition it was emphasized that they should avoid listing members who might wish to sell the land. Instead, they discussed, the members of the union had to unite in the more important struggle for the right to the land. It was also agreed that nobody should go to their fields by themselves, as it was getting too dangerous, and if possible they should leave the fields and the crops unattended for the present, and await the next meeting on Wednesday.

The farmer who had been violently robbed wanted to discuss his prospects for the following day. He had attempted to get several lawyers in the nearest town, but to no avail. They had all insisted that they must speak to their manager, and now he was facing the court case without legal assistance. The Union leaders promised to help him look into it, and try to produce a lawyer for him. They decided that only a selected few would accompany him to the court the following day to show solidarity, but that they could not afford to pay a truck again.

The following day I was told the court case had been postponed, and thus one week later we took a motorcycle taxi and the bus to get to the Court for the hearing about the violence against the cacao-farmer. Once again we were left waiting for hours without any word. The victim was pulled into a closed meeting, allowed only the assistance of one of the Union leaders, leaving the rest of us to wait outside. The victim was rather angry upon exiting the office, explaining that they had once more tried to force him to take a settlement, offering the man 100 000 Dominican pesos to drop the case. He had once before declined this offer, and the farmers expected that they would try a private meeting one more time before putting his case on trial. The most likely procedure would be for the court to dismiss the charges against the accused and following the victim's appeal, the case would go to a higher court in Santo Domingo. The farmer who had been attacked stated that he simply wanted his land and his freedom to cultivate it in peace, for all of them, not just for himself.

As exemplified in chapter 2, skin-color, hair-style and general appearance is often a basis for discrimination in Dominican society in general, but specifically in meeting with State bureaucracy. The leading figures of the Union are from both bateyes and regular communities, but generally sport a significantly whiter skin-color than the average member of the Union. This has never been expressed by members as a significant point, although in other discussions it becomes clear that skin-color as well as last names are the factors most likely to produce discrimination in encounters with the local bureaucracy. The color of the leaders may be a coincidence, as their leadership might be more closely connected to their level of education. However it may also be indicative of how they wish, and indeed need to present themselves to the national public to gain support for their case.

When attending meetings with the state, i.e. with state representatives, members of the Union make an effort to modify their appearance in order to present themselves as wealthier, more powerful, and more Dominican. In truth, this change in appearance does not only occur in encounters with the state, but also when they visit other communities that are not bateyes. The importance of dressing up for bateye inhabitants could well be an expression of Dominican fashion sense and a personal desire to look wealthier. All the

same it must be pointed out that resources and energy are spent altering their appearance, an active form of agency, before encountering state officials and "Dominican" society.

Images of the state:

Finally, in this chapter I would like to return to an analysis of the images of and relationships with the state, reflected in the presentation of the land dispute in the video, and as embedded practices during the court cases. The image of the state, as held by union members, is largely connected to corruption in local bureaucracy on the one hand, and a benign view of the top political leadership on the other.

The state organ CEA, as discussed in chapter 2, use to be the main provider and power figure in Bateye Guarero and took care of the bateye electricity, housing, work organization and the likes, leaving little autonomy for the bateye inhabitants. As the union member Leonel pointed out to me, this state patronage "left people unaccustomed to taking care of themselves". The romantification of the sugarcane era (see chapter 2), might have resulted in a romantic and benign view of the state as a caretaker, which does no longer fit with the current treatment of them by the state. Although the union members and bateye inhabitants in general recognize the injustice they encounter in state bureaucracy, they maintain their view that the fault lies in local corruption, and the President and other top-politicians are seen as their hope to change the situation.

Large scale corruption is acknowledged in Bateye Guarero as a phenomenon found in all political matters and state implementations: such as the Court, the Police, and the state offices. This accusation of corruption does seldom, however, rise to the level of the President himself, despite many allegations that the political parties lie to win the elections and that they only hire people for state positions who are sympathetic to their political party. During one conversation, the union-member Maria explained that unlike herself, most of the members of the Farmers Union had voted for the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* in the 2013 election, which had lost to the *Partido de la Liberación Dominicana*, the political party of President Danilo Medina, and she suspected this was the reason they were now experiencing so much trouble for the

Farmers Union. She however, was glad the PLD had won so she could keep her job cleaning the local school. Whenever the government changes, so does the entire staff employed by the government, including cleaners of elementary schools.

It is clear that both politics and state bureaucracy is considered corrupt by inhabitants of Bateye Guarero, yet the Farmers Union is partially based on the assumption and hope that once the case reaches the Supreme Court and the President, the case will be resolved, because they believe they have a just claim to the land. This is seen in the speech in the video, where the speech is directly addressed to the President in a tone that suggests that he will understand when he hears of their struggles. Furthermore, they often refer to "going to see the President" as the next tactic to further their case. Ultimately, upon hearing that the President would be in the neighboring bateye, the Farmers Union immediately set out to inform the President of their case.

Nuijten (2004) describes a similar phenomenon in her ethnographic material from an indigenous land struggle in Mexico. Because of the obscure practices in the bureaucracy of the state, many conspiracy theories evolve among her informants. They have led to speculations about the "location of evil" as many of the indigenous people seem to believe that their case is stopped and restrained in the local office of a state agrarian organization, which makes them believe that if the case reached proper authorities in the capital, it would be resolved (Nuijten 2004: 216). The same perception of the "location of evil" in the local bureaucratic apparatus can be seen from the ethnographic example of the fist court case. The Dominican farmers do not formulate beliefs about "the evil", but nevertheless recognize, like the indigenous people in Nuijten's ethnographical example, that it is the local-level bureaucracy that is corrupt. The Farmers Union and their lawyer believe that it is the corruption in Monte Plata that is the problem, and that the case would be resolved if they could reach political power outside the Province.

Nuijten's ethnographic case involves an indigenous people and a state that on the surface pretends to assist them, but in the end does not, thus creating a "hope generating machine". Even though the Farmers Union appears to be successful at least in their goal to be socially identified as Dominican farmers, no results have yet been produced in relation to their land claim. It is curious that the President allegedly assigned high ranking

ministers to negotiate the land dispute of the Union, and that their case might reach the Supreme Court, when in fact many of the members of the Union might have lost their right to citizenship by the Constitutional ruling of September 2013, which states that children and grandchildren born of people "in transit" do not have the right to citizenship (See chapter 2). It is interesting to consider whether this acknowledgement from the state in reality is only a "hope generating machine" as explained by Nuijten as no results have yet been procured, or whether the acknowledgement is a result of the success of the farmer's union in negotiating their way to a social identification as Dominican farmers.

Even if the Dominican state bureaucracy is perhaps not a "hope generating machine", it nevertheless uses the same practices as the Mexican state in the creation of a bureaucracy that is what Nuijten describes as a "messy labyrinthine machine" (2004:217), confusing the farmers with complicated lingo, state artifacts such as maps and a never ending sets of possible routes to reach the state. During the court case with the Farmers Union, it was clear that the farmers had no understanding of the laws implemented, and could not understand the outcome of the case without the explanation of the lawyer.

The technical language, unpredictable bureaucratic procedures, unclear lines of command and responsibility encountered by the Farmers Union in the meeting with the Dominican state contribute to the mystification of the power arrangements in the apparatus. Nuijten says that for the Mexican indigenous group she studies, "Who is pulling the strings at different levels, and who influences the officials of the SRA (Secretary of Agrarian Reform) at which moments remains unclear" (2004:212). It is in these encounters with bureaucracy that union members do not possess the cultural capital to understand the legal system or the lingo used by the court. As shall be exemplified below, this lack of cultural capital becomes even more critical when the Farmers Union face corruption because they do not have the "performative competence" as Gupta describes it, to participate in these practices.

How corruption in all levels of state bureaucracy requires cultural capital to maneuver is a theme that Gupta discusses in his study of corruption in India (1995). Gupta tells the story of two young men attempting to inscribe a name on a legal document at the local state office, and how they fail due to their lack of bribing

knowledge, of which he says that: "The practice of bribe-giving was not, as the young men learned, simply an economic transaction but a cultural practice that required a great degree of performative competence." (Gupta 1995: 217). This performative competence, one could argue, should also be analyzed with respect to bribing at different levels of the state administration, and in light of the categorization those attempting to bribe might encounter which could make their attempt easier or more difficult. The bateye inhabitants are quite comfortable bribing a police officer if stopped without a driver's license. Yet the officials might not take their bribes, as they would a Dominican looking and sounding person, should they feel that the person does not deserve their cooperation as a perceived illegal foreigner.

In relation to the Farmers Union it can be seen that the cultural capital of the members, or performative competence, is not strong enough to face the corruption in the local court. The farmers lack the cultural capital needed to bribe high ranking officials, such as judges. They also lack the economic capital for this sort of bribing. Given that they did have the economic capital and necessary social capital in the shape of contacts and networks, there would still be a possibility that their bribe would not be acknowledged due to their social position as "Haitian". It is suggested here, that the symbolic capital the union members enjoy in relation to other bateye inhabitants, is perhaps not always validated in other parts of Dominican society. Because of the lack of cultural and symbolic capital needed to participate in corruption and bureaucratic practices, the Farmers Union is struggling to make real headway with their case

Concluding remarks

This chapter has analyzed the efficacy of the Farmers Union, and argued that the acknowledgment of the Dominican state of the union's group-identification as Dominican Farmers is likely related to the social and symbolic capital of the union members. It has been shown that some of this capital stems from involvement with NGO work and human rights discourses. The chapter has argued that, and illustrated how, the Farmers Union uses this capital through rhetorical and practical tactics that attempt to "dominicanize"

their case and struggle. The last section of the chapter was devoted to the Farmers Union's images of the state, with a separation between the local corruption and the ideal expected by the national level of state politics. The chapter has argued that the Farmers Union does not have sufficient amounts of cultural capital, in terms of educational knowledge such as reading and writing and knowledge of the complex law system. The most important result of lack of capital is shown in relation to corruption, where the Farmers Union does not have the capacities or the symbolic capital to negotiate with the other actors, ultimately leading to a stagnation of their case.

The separation of social, symbolic and cultural capital had been purely analytic, as an attempt to show that the Farmers Union mostly lacks knowledge of the system and relevant education. It is however so, as Bourdieu explained about his own use of these concepts, that "symbolic capital is the form assumed by the other kinds of capital when they are perceived of and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu 1991:230). The complication in this case arises from the situation in which the symbolic capital of the Farmers Union is legitimate in the bateye, but not quite so, in relation to the Dominican society at large. This relates to the main argument of this chapter: in order for the possibility of success in the land dispute case, the Farmers Union and its members must minimally be identified as Dominican farmers, and quite possibly also possess other resources for the accumulation of appropriate symbolic capital. Even though this chapter has argued that they have achieved their goals in a relatively high degree, no real results have been produced, and there is always the chance that the Dominican state is functioning as a "hope-generating machine".

Chapter 5

The correlation between access to resources and the shape of identity-management

This chapter explores the argument that the shape of identity-management is formed by the available resources. The legitimacy of this argument is reflected on through a discussion about the identity-management of those who do not have access to the resources that are commonly mobilized in Bateye Guarero. This chapter attempts to illustrate the argument through an investigation of the identity-management of the poorest inhabitants of Bateye Guarero as they make use of the alternative network of the Pentecostal movement to achieve perceived upward social mobility. A second illustration of the argument that poorer access to resources leads to alternative identity-management is found in the neighboring community Bateye Alto, where the human rights discourse presented by non-profit organizations is used to achieve a similar upward social mobility. It will be argued that the use of resources for practices that "Dominicanize" is more efficient in securing upward social mobility than the mobilization of resources within the Pentecostal network or the human rights discourse, and that this is directly connected to the higher levels of resources by those who practice "Dominicanization" that allows for the accumulation of symbolic capital for this group.

An alternative network: Pentecostalism

Chapter 1 presented information on the standard of living in Bateye Guarero while the economic differences between the (relatively) rich families of Dominican heritage and poorer families of Haitian descent were illustrated in chapter 3. Although the majority of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero define themselves as Catholic, it is the Dominican descendent "elite" (as portrayed in chapters 1 and 4) that are the most active practitioners

of the faith. To my knowledge, none of the people of Dominican descent are members of the Pentecostal movement. Although the Pentecostal movement seems to attract youth from a variety of backgrounds, its current membership base is centered on poorer families with clear links to Haitian heritage, either through lack of identity-papers, but most commonly through Haitian parents or grandparents. Chapter 3 discussed "Dominicanizing" practices and their connection to consumption. These consumption practices are out of reach for the members of the Pentecostal movement due to their lack of monetary funds. This part of the chapter aims to explore how the Pentecostal movement can provide its poorer members with resources that can be mobilized and maintained (Jenkins 2009) to achieve perceived upward social mobility.

Picture 5(private photo): The Pentecostal church with the largest membership base: Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal, La Gloria de Dios.

The Pentecostal movement in Bateye Guarero has use of four church-buildings, three of which have been built by missionaries between ten and twenty years ago. There are three distinct congregations in Bateye Guarero, yet due to their tendency to organize religious events together and their overwhelming similarity they will be bulked together under the term "the Pentecostal movement"[48]. After the sugarcane production ceased and

[48] The main difference between them is language. The largest one is a Spanish-speaking congregation, whereas the other two hold services in Haitian Creole and are referred to as *iglesia Haitiana* (Haitian church).

the community opened up to foreign and national missionaries, the Pentecostal movement has grown quite strong in Bateye Guarero, with approximately 100 members who have identified themselves to me as *Evangélico/a* (Pentecostal)[49].

The importance of the religious moral doctrine:

The Pentecostal movement functions as a separate and alternative network for its members because it is sharply differentiated from other social networks. This sharp differentiation appears to be the reason that it can provide resources to be mobilized and maintained in pursuit of goals for its members. If not for the sharp distinction between members and non-members, these resources could not be mobilized because there would be no separate sphere for the value construction that makes Christian values more important than other social values, which one might argue is the strength of the Pentecostal network. The differentiation is at least partially a result of a feature inherent in the Pentecostal faith, *sanctification*, which is the theological principle behind the strict moral doctrine. The moral doctrine is perceived of as a necessity to be able experience the Holy Spirit.

Pentecostalism is a part of the Protestant Evangelic tradition which grew out of an Anglo-American movement from the 1800s, known as "the great awakening" (Robbins 2004:119). Many of the current features of the Pentecostal movement came into existence during the "Asuza street revival" in North America from 1906 to 1909, during which the religious leader Seymour promoted speaking in tongues and "the ecstatic Christian life". This related the movement to the Apostles' experience with the Holy Spirit as reported in Acts 2: an event that took place fifty days after the crucifixion of Christ, namely the Pentecost.

The theological principle of *sanctification* within Pentecostalism has come to refer to a state of being that is pure of sin, which requires continual personal effort. Only when in this state of *sanctification* can one receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as

[49] The exact number of members is impossible to assess due to fluctuations in number of inhabitants in Bateye Guarero and a tendency among the inhabitants to join the movement and then stop going.

speaking in tongues or the power of healing (Brodwin 2003:89). As these gifts of the Holy Spirit are seen as the closest form of communication with God, a strict moral doctrine has developed to ensure such a state of Sanctification. The rules of the Pentecostal moral doctrine ban tobacco, alcohol, dancing, swearing, entertainment without Christian content such as television and popular music, extra-marital sex, provocative dress and various forms of personal accessories such as jewelry, nail polish and perfume (Brodwin 2003:88).

The Pentecostal moral doctrine thus bans almost all of the common social activities in Bateye Guarero. The social events in Bateye Guarero are organized at the local bars and involve drinking, music without Christian content and dancing. The most common consumption choices involve decoration of the self in a manner deemed improper by the Pentecostal movement. In order to follow the moral guidelines of the Pentecostal movement, then, a distance is necessarily created between the members of the movement and the rest of the bateye inhabitants.

Agency and the moral doctrine as a resource:

I argue that members of the Pentecostal movement employ agency in relation to elements of this moral doctrine and that it forms the core of identity-management for the Pentecostal Christians in Bateye Guarero[50]. According to Ortner's definition of agency, it entails both conscious intention and embodied habitus (Ortner 2001:77). It is assumed here that the agentive use of the moral doctrine is both a result of habitus and conscious intention. This argument is based on observations about which elements of the moral doctrine the members usually adhere to. A Pentecostal family of five serves as a good illustration. The family members are always properly dressed and do not adorn themselves with any form of accessories. The teenage children are not allowed to go to the bar or dance with their friends. Yet even so, the primary source of entertainment is the

[50] I do not wish to suggest that the members of the Pentecostal faith are only members for the social benefits. I only want to assert that once this resource exists as a result of religious ethics, some inhabitants use it actively. I do certainly agree with Brodwin that in most cases religious ethic is primarily religious and not a result of people's social interest or needs (Brodwin 2003:88).

television. At nighttime, the entire family gathers to watch a dubbed romantic comedy from Hollywood, wrestling, or Dominican comedy shows. The content of the TV-shows could be considered as offensive to the religious moral doctrine of Pentecostalism as the merengue music with its songs about tormented lovers. Another illustration that the Pentecostal members employ agency in choosing which elements of the moral doctrine to adhere to is in the Women's association (see chapter 3). Even though the members of the association who are Pentecostal Christians tend to sit together during meetings, they nevertheless participate in making jewelry that is deemed highly un-proper to wear.

It is striking, that one of the imperatives of the Pentecostal moral doctrine followed by all the members appears to be the one related to personal appearance. During a relaxing afternoon on my patio, the young Pentecostal man Alfredo attempted to explain to me why I should stop wearing earrings. As it was very difficult for me to understand the relation between this dress code and the teachings of Christianity, Alfredo finally explained in the most basic of terms. "It is important that everyone can see that you are Christian. If you wear that, nobody can know that you are Christian, maybe even God himself". Thus, for the Pentecostal movement, one has to look Christian to be perceived of as Christian.

The second imperative of the moral doctrine that all the members of the Pentecostal movement adhere to is to avoid social gatherings were people drink alcohol or dance. This is even the case if it is a part of a funeral ritual. It is customary in Bateye Guarero for everyone to attend the funeral ceremony and it is considered quite rude not to at least stop by the home of the bereaved to offer ones condolences. I was therefore quite surprised when my neighbor Bruno passed away and the members of the Pentecostal movement did not show up to his *vela* (from time of death until burial next day). The *vela* in question was secular and consisted of Bruno's family and his group of friends who generally frequent the bar. When I asked some of my closest confidants about the absence of all the members of the Pentecostal movement, they merely shrugged, and said "they think they are better than us".

Thus, the result of the moral doctrine is a separation from the rest of the bateye inhabitants, which allows for a distinct network in what would otherwise be a quite close-

knit bateye community. As a separate network, the Pentecostal movement offers both a degree of financial safety and an arena for the accumulation of symbolic capital.

Identity-management through the Pentecostal network:

The Pentecostal movement offers a degree of pooled resources in everyday life. Specifically, this refers to food, as members of the movement continuously invite each other over for meals, and a communal lunch is organized at least one a week. The pooling of resources can in some cases exceed the everyday expenditures as well. During one of the night-time church services, a woman stood up to lead the congregation in collective prayer for her neighbor whom had gotten quite ill. The end of the prayer was followed by a plea to both God and the congregation that they would be able to gather the money necessary for her to get to the hospital. Many of the members got up and put money in her hands, even though none of them had a steady income and this money was their savings. It was quite simple for my elderly Haitian and Pentecostal neighbor who explained "If people are starving, I give what I have", starving here used metaphorically.

It is the argument of this chapter that the Pentecostal movement offers resources with which to negotiate the stigma of poor Haitian descendant bateye-dweller, through identity-management. The movement offers a social identity as primarily a religious person. Robbins says:

"P/c has continued to feature its egalitarian inspirational logic both in its outreach, which is often the poor and the otherwise marginalized, and in the life it offers to converts, who are encouraged to see their most important identity not as one of class, race, gender, or ethnicity, but as children of God (Robbins 2004:125)".

As Robbins point out, the importance of personal interaction with the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal tradition has led to egalitarianism in the social organization of the Pentecostal movements. All of the members of the movement are encouraged to evangelize, and only a special connection to the Holy Spirit is required to be seen as a church leader. The

possibility of accumulating symbolic capital within the Pentecostal network in Bateye Guarero is therefore not hampered by economic concerns.

One illustrating example is the symbolic capital or social status of the young Pentecostal woman Magdalena. She is one of the most active members, and she will often arrive early to help set up chairs and prepare for church services. During the services she will read to the others from the Bible or lead the congregation in song. Magdalena thus holds a special position within the congregation despite her youthful 19 years. This is due to her perceived frequent communication with the Holy Spirit. Unlike most people, Magdalena experiences the gift of the Holy Spirit regularly and often returns from the services both sweaty and hoarse from the experience. This spiritual young woman serves as an illustration to the kind of symbolic capital attainable through the Pentecostal church. The following description of Magdalena's socioeconomic position in the bateye community indicates why accumulation of symbolic capital outside the Pentecostal movement is very difficult (see chapter 3 on symbolic capital through consumption).

Magdalena has a challenging home environment and bleak prospects financially. She lives with her unemployed Haitian grandmother, siblings and cousins in a relatively small house. Because her father used to take her and her sister with him for work around the country, she is lagging behind in school by several years. The family is struggling financially and often lacks the money to replace the most necessary items such as drinking water. Despite her difficult position, it has been possible for Magdalena to become a person of status within the Pentecostal movement.

Accumulation of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) through the Pentecostal movement is possible. The very fact that certain members of the close-knit movement are perceived to have high social status might be sufficient for the rest of the members to regard membership as upward social mobility. With the new found symbolic capital from the Pentecostal movement, it can be possible to negotiate negative stereotypes about poor Haitians and their descendants.

One example of this can be found in the attitude towards Haitian inspired gagá. Gagá used to be an Easter holiday tradition in Bateye Guarero and still is in neighboring communities as well as bateye communities across the country (Martínez 2007). Gagá is a dance of African inspiration to drums and musical horns, performed by men in colorful

skirts. People drink heavily and violence is common. The celebration has grown too unpopular for Bateye Guarero to have their own gagá group, and I therefore had to beg one of my closer interlocutors to take me to the nearest village to see it. The Pentecostal movement regards this perceived Haitian tradition as devil worship. My close interlocutor still decided to take me for the purpose of my research, but informed me that he could not possibly be associated with the celebration as it would be bad for his reputation as a Pentecostal. When we got there, my interlocutor introduced me to someone he knew and proceeded to head for the nearest hill where he would stand in safety alone to wait for my return. By standing at the top of the hill, people could see that this was a man not at all typically Haitian, and not fitting the stigma of dirty and engaged in voodoo (see chapters 1 and 2 on stigma).

For the poor inhabitants of Bateye Guarero, the Pentecostal movement can provide access to both material and symbolic resources that can be mobilized in identity-management. The members of the movement can use these resources to simultaneously self-identify as "A good Christian" and refuse to give legitimacy to the self-identification of other bateye inhabitants as Dominican through consumption and social practices. This supports the argument that identity-management in Bateye Guarero is closely tied to access to resources. The following part of the chapter will explore how the neighboring community of fewer resources has an alternative identity-management.

Bateye Alto: poorer access to resources and an alternative identity-management

Although I have not spent too much time in Bateye Guarero's neighboring community Bateye Alto, my findings there nevertheless tend to support my argument that varied access to resources finds its expression in other forms of identity-management. In Bateye Alto, this identity-management is connected to mobilization of an NGO discourse of human rights as a resource to achieve perceived upward social mobility.

Bateye Alto has about the same number of inhabitants as Bateye Guarero, but a slightly different history and a relatively different socioeconomic development since CEA shut down. During sugarcane production Bateye Alto was just a large agricultural

bateye, with an almost exclusively Haitian or Dominican-Haitian population. Bateye Alto is situated further away from the Dominican villages, has poorer roads and fewer Dominican influences. This was true during sugarcane production under CEA and today. When CEA shut down, there was no Dominican population capable of buying and securing plots of land around the bateye. The little land Bateye Alto people did have a claim to, was quickly sold for "fast money" according to my informants from the bateye community. In Bateye Guarero, as seen in chapter 3, cultivation of land largely makes people self-sufficient in food, and for a privileged group makes for a cash surplus and an identity marker (see chapter 4).

Bateye Alto does not have a health clinic, and only a small elementary school with grades 1-4. For almost every service the inhabitants of Bateye Alto must travel to the Dominican villages. State presence is close to non-existing in Bateye Alto, and only Servicio Social de Iglesias Dominicanas and Mosctha (see chapter 1) work in the bateye sporadically, whereas Bateye Guarero has close to ten organizations providing some service. The result is higher poverty-rates, extreme unemployment, hunger, alarming deterioration of houses, lack of latrines and close to no governmental presence. Access to resources is therefore lower and/or more complicated for the inhabitants of Bateye Alto than for the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero, which has lead to diversity in agentive capacities and desires. On top of this, for reasons unknown, identity-papers are scarce in Bateye Alto, forcing a different approach to identity-management than in Bateye Guarero. It is the lack of official identity-papers that is the largest resource difference between the two bateye communities. How lack of identity-papers, and thusly poorer access to both state and social/symbolic resources, appears to have influenced an alternative form of identity-management in Bateye Alto then in Bateye Guarero will be explored below.

Identity-management in lack of identity-papers:

The inhabitants of Bateye Alto identify themselves primarily as Dominican. Even so, they acknowledge openly that they are of Haitian descent, and often categorize

themselves as Dominican-Haitian or Dominican of Haitian descent when asked. They believe they have an undisputable right to Dominican citizenship, which the Dominican Constitution promises them. The following part of the chapter explores the limitations to the legitimacy of this self-identification, which might have encouraged the heightened focus on Haitian identity in the public life of Bateye Alto.

For reasons unknown and untraceable, the wide-spread problem of lack of identity-papers has only affected a handful of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero. The opposite appears to be the case for the inhabitants of Bateye Alto, where almost all families have persons without identity-papers and many families lack them for all its members. This chapter argues that this lack of identity-papers is the main reason there is a disparity in resources between Bateye Guarero and Bateye Alto which has led to differences in identity-management and agency.

The Constitutional ruling of September 2013 made official that Dominicans declared by parents who could not prove legal residency in the country would not be granted Dominican citizenship (see chapter 2). During my fieldwork (from January to July 2013) there was an active practice of the State bureaucracy to deny people of Haitian descent their papers or overcomplicate the procedure in order to prevent them from doing so.

The inhabitants of Bateye Alto appear to lack their identity-papers for a variety reasons. There is a large number of people who do not have their identity-papers because of personal or parental negligence and ignorance of the system. An elderly man named Dominigue could inform me that his entire family had *cedulas* but that his youngest grandchild had not been declared. His daughter had given birth only weeks after the father of the child had walk out on the family, and she had resisted signing the birth certificate in the hopes that the father of the child would show up in time to sign it as well. When he did not, the 60 day time limit of immediate declaration had passed, and she now had to embark on the expensive and extensive "late declaration". The middle-aged woman Anita had lost her birth certificate when her purse was stolen in a taxi in the Capital. She still has her *cedula*, but is unable to declare her two youngest children without a birth certificate. Her three older children were declared before she lost it. She

blames herself for not declaring her children upon their birth, as they were several years old when she lost it.

There is also a number of people who have their birth certificate, but have been denied their *cedula* for various reasons. Sana, for instance, is a 27 year old woman who has been attempting to get her *cedula* since she was 18. When she went to the Junta Central Electoral to retrieve her *cedula* she presented her birth certificate and was told that the *cedula* in question had already been issued, in effect, her identity had been given to someone else. Ever since Sana has been in a struggle to prove to the JCE that her identity belongs to her, and the JCE appear to be cooperative, but nevertheless make no progress with her case. Sana and others in Bateye Alto are convinced that the handful of identity-theft cases seen in the community is the result of officials at the JCE taking bribes to sell their identity to other people.

The majority of the cases are results of officials at the JCE simply refusing to issue *cedulas* despite the birth certificate, or hospital employees or other officials who refused to issue birth certificates to children born of "Haitian" parents. The elderly Dominican man Jona, who served as *Alcalde* (local political body) was unable to declare any of his children because his wife was Haitian. His seven children were not given a birth certificate, whether born in hospital or at home. Jona says it is because "they (officials) don't want to give them"[51].

The elderly Haitian woman Janina was also unable to declare her five children at birth. She, however, paid the neighboring woman to declare her children as her own. The oldest two were issued their *cedulas* but the youngest three have been denied the identity-card at the JCE, pending an investigation of their descent. This refusal to issue a *cedula* leads to the next generation growing up without an official identity as well. Anamaria is a young woman who was declared upon her birth by Haitian parents using the *ficha* documentation. The JCE is refusing to issue her *cedula* and even though her partner and the father of her children is a Dominican citizen, the JCE refuses to acknowledge her three small children as citizens because she is a foreigner. Even though the Dominican constitution clearly states that any child born to a Dominican father or mother is recognized as a citizen (see appendix), the JCE almost always denies this right.

[51] "no lo quieren dar".

I was unable to conclude on how many people lack official identity in Bateye Alto, both due to my limited time there, and due to the complexity of the cases where people often lost the actual documents or claimed to be close to receiving their documents from the JCE. The inhabitants of Bateye Alto did not know how many people were affected by this problem either, and often guessed anything from 10-70 percent of the population in Bateye Alto. I believe that a realistic estimate would be around 25 %, which would equal about 100 people. I have personally spoken to 40 adults who either suffer from lack of official identification themselves, or are trying to obtain it for family members. Most of these people had several children who had not been declared. When the young that were unable to obtain identity-papers reproduce, the problem is automatically transferred to the children. Thus the problem is growing in the youngest generation, where many of the young in Bateye Alto claim that the majority of their friends do not have identity-papers.

Identity-management in Bateye Alto: confronting marginalization through the discourse of human rights:

The level of openness about this problem in Bateye Alto stands in astonishing contrast to the secretive nature of the issue in Bateye Guarero. After living several months in Bateye Guarero asking people informally about the problem of lack of documentation, I still did not know of more than one single case of a Dominican born person refused the *cedula.* There were secretive whispers that this or that person struggled with it, but it was generally not considered appropriate to discuss the matter. Secrecy aside, the issue had much smaller proportions in Bateye Guarero and therefore did not constitute a community concern. In Bateye Alto, however, everyone mentioned documentation as the primary concern of the community and the most threatening problem.

Julio, a young man in his thirties shared his insightful view on the issue one afternoon in Bateye Alto. He explained that until not too long go, people had been ashamed about the lack of official identity too, like in Bateye Guarero. As Julio put it,

"We were ashamed of not being official Dominicans"[52]. They had not confronted it and it had gotten worse. A few years ago, however, an American Peace Corps volunteer, Sophie, had come to live in their community for two years to work with the children. Sophie had made friends with many people, and gained everyone's trust. When she encouraged people to go to the JCE to get their documentation, more people began to talk about it publicly. Sophie had explained the basic human rights agreements and had even gone with people to the JCE office to help them retrieve their *cedula.* Julio thinks that Sophie helped remove a lot of the shame connected to the problem and to help the community to realize how common the problem was and to unite to fight for their rights. Now people in Bateye Alto frequently criticize the residents of Bateye Guarero for pretending not be Haitian, and they laugh at the notion that inhabitants of Bateye Guarero claim to not speak Haitian Creole, of which they say "there is nobody in a bateye who does not know how to speak Haitian Creole".

At present in Bateye Alto, people are not afraid to criticize the JCE (Junta Central Electoral, documentation office) and the Dominican State. The officials at JCE do not give satisfactory reasons for refusing identification, in certain cases, they even give racist ones. In many of the cases, the JCE simply appear to be assisting the inhabitant in Bateye Alto, while in reality producing something of a "hope generating machine" (Nuijten 2004) as we saw of the Dominican bureaucracy in chapter 4. This causes years of confusion, expensive trips back and forth to the office and payment for expensive documents (of maternity, from the Alcalde, from witnesses to their birth etc.) that do not serve them. Often the responses of the JCE are downright discriminatory and even racist. "You are Haitian", "Go back to your country and apply", "Your last name is not from here", "You are too black to be Dominican".

A consequential effect of the JCE treatment is the total lack of trust in the Dominican state apparatus among the residents of Bateye Alto. Sana, the 28 year old woman who had her identity stolen, was one of a group of women who discussed the JCE with me one morning. They did not think that anyone would ever get their identity-papers if it were up to the JCE. Sana told me about a woman from a neighboring bateye (not Bateye Guarero) who had gone to the JCE office in the village with her *cedula*, and the

[52] "teníamos vergüenza de no ser Dominicanos oficiales".

officials had taken a scissor and cut it up right in her face. The women all agreed that one should always only take a copy of documents to the JCE and that they cannot be trusted.

Largely due to these problems in obtaining official identification and likely the poorer access to resources in general, the form of identity-management in Bateye Alto is slightly different from the one in Bateye Guarero. Haitian heritage in embraced as a part of the discourse of human rights which they have developed with the assistance of Peace Corps and Mosctha and their lawyers. Even so, there are clear signs of internalization of the stigma of Haitians as ugly due to their perceived darker skin. Jenkins explains that social identification occurs in a dialectic process of self-identification and external categorization (Jenkins 1996:20). In the process of struggling against the social stigma and categorization as Haitian by the Dominican state and neighboring Dominican communities, certain elements of the social stigma appear to have been internalized.

Even though the inhabitants of Bateye Alto recognize the treatment they encounter at the hands of the Dominican bureaucracy as discrimination, the racist attitudes have clear effects on their self-image. A middle-aged woman born in Bateye Alto to Haitian parents laughed at me when I asked her why she felt that she was Haitian and not Dominican. She explained that she had barely even tried to get her Dominican identity-papers because of her appearance. She pulled at her short, curly hair and said "Look at this hair! How can I say that I am not Haitian?" The racist equation of both *antihaitianismo* and the JCE officials that darker skin and features is Haitian appears to be internalized by many of the inhabitants of Bateye Alto.

I argue that the main form of identity-management in Bateye Alto is the use of discourses of human rights to negotiate the social stigma and categorization as Haitian by the Dominican state. This is based on observations of how the inhabitants of Bateye Alto gather for community meetings concerning the issue of lack of identity-papers and speak openly about the problem using the discourse of human rights to defend themselves. It is my impression that this has also led to Bateye Alto being a tightly knit community with little socioeconomic diversity compared to Bateye Guarero. It appears as though this has led to greater community bonds and less boundaries between those of Pentecostal faith and other bateye inhabitants.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has reflected on the argument that identity-management takes other forms when the availability of resources is varied and has applied two empirical examples as an attempt to illustrate this argument. Within Bateye Guarero, the Pentecostal movement has been explored as network and resource base for the poorer inhabitants who can identity primarily as Christian and thus avoid some of the social stigma connected to poor bateye residents. The main argument was also illustrated by an exploration of identity-management in neighboring Bateye Alto, where the alternative shape of identity-management might also be connected to poorer access to resources, leading the community to use human rights discourses to achieve some level of upward social mobility.

It is my impression, however, that the two alternative identity-management forms presented in this chapter are less efficient for upward social mobility than the practice of "Dominicanization". Although the Pentecostal network can offer a basic sense of financial security, it does not offer a means of accumulation of economic capital. Both the Pentecostal network, and the human rights discourse can provide improvement to the levels of symbolic capital, but nevertheless cease to provide a basis for economic capital. This analysis supports the main argument of this thesis, that resources must be mobilized for practices that are "Dominicanizing" in order to achieve a better socioeconomic position, because, higher socioeconomic position is most intimately tied to economic resources (See discussion in chapter 2).

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The main argument in this thesis is that identity-management in Bateye Guarero is shaped by how resources can be mobilized in the pursuit of perceived upward social mobility, based on analysis of what Jenkins has coined the *"power of efficacy"* (Jenkins 2009). This thesis has attempted to illustrate how symbolic and material resources can be mobilized to overcome the social stigma that stems from categorization of bateye inhabitants as Haitians, through practices and rhetoric that can be used to "Dominicanize". It has been argued that without access to the symbolic and material resources needed to express this self-identification as Dominican, the identity-management takes an alternate form. As indicated in the previous chapter, it is my opinion that the social stigma as Haitians can be surpassed through the mobilization of resources to "Dominicanize", but that other forms of identity-management appear to be less efficient in achieving perceived upward social mobility, because, as is often the case, symbolic capital results from economic capital (Bourdieu 1991:230).

The argument that the most successful identity-management to achieve upward social mobility is through "Dominicanization" is specifically interesting now that many of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero might be affected by the Constitutional ruling of September 2013 that might leave them stateless. Most of the inhabitants of Bateye Guarero have been declared by Haitian nationals who fall under the "in transit" clause of the Constitution on citizenship, and might have their citizenship revoked. On the basis of the material presented in this thesis, many interesting reflections on possible consequences to identity-management and access to resources can be made.

If the Constitutional ruling will be followed by political initiative to denationalize those who allegedly were declared under false premises, it is my opinion that the already growing differences between the inhabitants of Dominican descent and those of Haitian descent will be formalized and the group of Dominican descent will be the only ones with access to the social resources discussed in this thesis. I further believe that the majority Haitian descendant population in Bateye Guarero will then experience a shift in form of identity-management to account for the loss of resources. It is likely, then, that identity-

management will become more focused on the Pentecostal church network and that the human rights discourse will exceed great influence over the processes of social identification in Batey Guarero.

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Appendix

1. My translation of the Citizenship law in the Dominican Constitution of 2010:

The New Constitution of 2010 states in Article 18 that those who are recognized as Dominican are 1) the sons and daughters of a Dominican mother or father, 2) those who had Dominican nationality prior to the amendments of this Constitution, 3) Persons born in national territory, with the exception of sons and daughters of members of diplomatic relations and consultants, of foreigners in transit, or residing illegally on Dominican territory. Persons considered to be in transit are foreigners defined as such by Dominican law, 4) those born on foreign territory to a Dominican father or mother, despite having acquired, due to place of birth, a different nationality than their parents. Once they turn eighteen they may by choice apply for dual citizenship or choose to renounce one, 5) those who enter matrimony with a Dominican and choose to take the nationality of the spouse and who meet the requirements established by the law, 6) the direct descendants of Dominicans residing in foreign territory, 7) persons who have been naturalized, by the conditions and formalities required by the law (Nueva Constitución de la Republica Dominicana 2010:8-9).

2. Spanish original Farmers Union speech, written down from the audio-tape:

"Estamos communicando a el país y a todas las autoridades de la República Dominicana, pero muy especialmente al presidente Danilo Medina para que se entere en la situación que está sucediendo aquí en la parcela de Bateye Guarero, de municipio de *nombre*, provincia de Monte Plata. Aquí en este sector, un grupo de agricultores, hombres y mujeres que llevamos más de 30, 20, 15 y 10 años trabajando en estos previos a pesar que son terreno del Consejo Estatal del Azúcar, pero el Consejo Estatal del azúcar sabe muy bien que la gente aquí en Bateye Guarero, *name* llevamos más de 15, 20 años laborando en esos terrenos aquí en Bateye Guarero. Después que la Presidente de la república dijo que está apoyando a todos los agricultores en todo el territorio nacional y que va a dar

título a las personas que tiene más de 10 años trabajando en los terrenos que sean de el Estado. Estamos llamando tanto al director de CEA como estamos llamando a los demás autoridades de la provincia y directamente al Presidente Danilo Medina. Tal como lo quiere habló en aquello tiempo de cuando estaban en lo processo politico y después se atado mencionando de por tiene gobierno, quiero que nosotros, el, vengan a aucilio de esa communidad donde pertenece la communidad de Bateye Guarero, la Patilla donde estamos siendo desalojado por un abuso de uno poder de recuperación de CEA incluso siendo los ladrones, los atacadores, a nivel de lo millionario trayendo lo engañado a uno terreno e ahora mismo están occupando por ciento de campesinos que partenecen a eso communidad. Señor Presidente, recuerde que nosotros campesinos solamente vivamos de lo que nosotros producamos y el pueblo principalmente la ciudad de Santo Domingo se mantiene de lo que los campesinos trabajan de las communidades. Y ahora mismo nosotros estamos siendo, que riendo abusar de nosotros, unos supuestos compradores, donde está la Señora Miguelina *name* y otro supusto compradores más diciendo que la tierra es de ellos. Ya nosostros tenemos un promedio de mas de 10 años laborando eso terreno donde tenemos yuca, maíz, y plátano, habichuela, guandules, cacao y otro producciones más de alta categoría . Y ahora mismo nos estan, el lunes, donde aquí se presentó un contingente militar apoyando esos, a eso, esos charlatanes a conjunto de la gente de la recuperación de aquí del municipio y nosotros le estamos pidiendo que no vamos a abandonar los terrenos porque no es verdad que nuestra familia que nosotros tenemos para mantenerlos de allí , la vamos a dejar morir y recuerde que los pueblos son beneficiados de nosotros los campesinos y lo que nosotros sembranda allí que es para todo el país, no es para nuestra campesinos nada más. (Is given holsters) Estos son los propios donde se presentó el lunes a las nueve de la mañana este contingente militar apoyando a ese persona que supuestamente son los compradores y sin embargo esos tiros que se ven aqui son fuen lo que se tiro a este grupo de campesinos que verdaderamente tienen el derecho para la tierra. Por favor, Señor Presidente, ayudanos en esta lucha por nuestra tierra".